EXPLORATIONS IN PRAIRIE JUSTICE RESEARCH

DOROTHY HEPWORTH

87-01120/

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Information: The Director,
Canadian Plains Research Center,
University of Regina,
REGINA, Saskatchewan, Canada.
S4S 0A2

These papers were commissioned by the
Prairie Justice Research Consortium, Human Justice Program
University of Regina.

EXPLORATIONS IN PRAIRIE JUSTICE RESEARCH

edited by DOROTHY HEPWORTH

CANADIAN PLAINS REPORTS ■ 3

CANADIAN PLAINS RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF REGINA

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Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

Explorations in Prairie justice research
(Canadian plains reports ; 3 ISSN 0384-8930)

Three papers "...originally presented at the Prairie Justice Research Workshop ... Regina, March 15-16, 1979."
Bibliography: p.
Contents: Wormith, J.S. The mentally disordered offender in the Prairie Region.--Johnson, S.D. Policing in the Prairies.--Lautt, M. Natives and justice.
ISBN 0-88977-015-8 pa.

1. Crime and criminals - Research - Prairie Provinces - Addresses, essays, lectures.
2. Criminal justice, Administration of - Research - Prairie Provinces - Addresses, essays, lectures.
I. Hepworth, Dorothy, 1936- II. Prairie Justice Research Workshop, Regina, Sask., 1979.
III. University of Regina. Canadian Plains Research Center. IV. Series.
HV6024.5.E9 364'.07'20712 C79-091162-0

Printed and bound in Canada by Hignell Printing Limited of Winnipeg

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface 1

Editor's Note 4

State-of-the-Art Reviews

The Mentally Disordered Offender in the Prairie Region
Steve Wormith 5

Policing in the Prairies
Stuart Johnson 39

Natives and Justice: A Topic Requiring Research Priority?
Melanie Lautt 55

PREFACE

The three state-of-the-art reviews published in this volume were commissioned by the Prairie Justice Research Consortium, and originally presented at the Prairie Justice Research Workshop, held at the Landmark Inn in Regina, March 15-16, 1979.

The Prairie Justice Research Consortium evolved out of the Human Justice Services Program at the University of Regina when it became clear that a broad research service in the human justice field was needed for the prairie region. Since its inception in September of 1977, the Consortium has been involved in extensive consultation with academic researchers, government departments, and justice agencies to determine the research needs of the prairie region. From these discussions, several recurrent themes have emerged: that information concerning on-going research and innovative projects needs to be collected and stored in a systematic way; that communication between researchers with similar interests should be facilitated; and that there is a general need to stimulate and facilitate research of particular relevance to the prairie region.

With these concerns in mind the Consortium took steps to encourage the inclusion of information on justice research in the existing Canadian Plains computerized data base. To this end, researchers and agencies were actively solicited for information concerning past, present, and projected research and innovative programs in the field of human justice in the prairie region. This data is now readily accessible through the Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina.

In an attempt to foster the development of justice research in the prairie region, the first Prairie Justice Research Workshop was convened by the Consortium with funds provided by the federal Department of Justice in March of 1979. The major objectives of the Workshop were to bring together persons from the academic research community, governments, private agencies, and interested persons from the general public, and to provide a forum for communication among these groups on justice research activities, needs and priorities in the prairie region. Research was defined in a very broad sense as formal academic research, operational research of government departments or agencies, and innovative programs.

In response to the stated need for research of particular relevance to the prairies, the Consortium commissioned three reviews: The Mentally Disordered Offender in the Prairie Region, Policing in the Prairies, and Natives and Justice. These papers in turn became one of the main features of the Prairie Justice Research Workshop.

Dr. Steve Wormith, Director of Research at the Regional Psychiatric Centre in Saskatoon wrote the paper on the Mentally Disordered Offender in the prairie region. Dr. Wormith has described the many difficult issues of definition, jurisprudence and treatment which are raised by this particular category of offenders.

The review of Policing in the Prairies by Dr. Stuart Johnson, Department of Sociology, University of Manitoba, reported on a variety of research efforts relating to law enforcement and the art of policing in the prairie provinces. Policing research has been undertaken by various

academics, by commercial research organizations and by professional police officers. Some of this research was intended for internal use only, and so is inaccessible to the general public.

Melanie Lautt, Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan, undertook the review of Natives and Justice. She highlights the very fragmentary nature of much of the information, and the fact that much of it is in unpublished, and sometimes unavailable government reports. A great deal more research and information gathering are required, particularly since natives are so heavily over-represented as consumers of justice services in the prairies.

The reviews stimulated considerable discussion at the Workshop. Because of the anticipated wide general interest in these papers as resource documents for researchers from a variety of academic backgrounds, it was decided that the Canadian Plains Research Center would publish them together in one volume as part of their Reports series. In this way these papers will be generally available, not only to participants at the Workshop, but to the general public as well.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

I would like to extend special thanks to Barbara Jones of the Canadian Plains Research Center for her assistance in the preparation of this book for publication. Jeannie Schmidt of the Prairie Justice Research Consortium also spent many hours patiently and very ably correcting, typing and re-typing these pages.

The Prairie Justice Research Consortium would like to thank the Department of Justice of Canada for the grant which made it possible to convene the Prairie Justice Research Workshop, and to publish these reviews.

The views expressed in these papers are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Prairie Justice Research Consortium or of any government department.

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THE MENTALLY DISORDERED OFFENDER

IN THE PRAIRIE REGION

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ABSTRACT

Selected problems relating to the mentally disordered offender are reviewed. Historical concerns include (1) the lack of proper care and facilities, (2) the relationship between crime and mental illness, and (3) the incidence of mental disorder in a correctional sample. The mentally disordered offender is described as a psychotic or retarded person who is incapable of making responsible decisions and is identifiable legally and psychiatrically. In addition to the above, the mentally abnormal offender includes the legally sane individual who has a personality or behavioral anomaly warranting special attention. Independent surveys reveal that the mentally disordered group constitutes about five percent of the federal offender population and the mentally abnormal group, twenty-five percent. The retarded, psychopathic, and sexual offenders are examples of the mentally abnormal offender. These groups are described and current treatment regimes are outlined with an emphasis on Prairie and Canadian data.

INTRODUCTION

In considering the mentally disordered offender, it is difficult to decide where one might begin. Numerous problems, concerns, and questions come immediately to mind. Let us begin with these.

> No care is taken to ensure the detection of defectives and no provision is made for their custody and training. They are not understood by the courts or by prison officers. They are sentenced, imprisoned, discharged and re-sentenced at great expense to the country. When in prison they prove a source of constant worry and render the maintenance of prison discipline difficult or impossible. These questions press for consideration.

Such were the concerns of one of the earlier Royal Commissions created to investigate the functioning of the Penitentiary System in 1913. The Commission went on to recommend the introduction of psychiatry to the correctional system in order that these questions might be addressed (Chalke, 1973). This last recommendation alone took 35 years to implement. For it was not until 1947 that the introduction of psychiatric services was made as part of radical prison reform in Federal Corrections (Chalke, 1973). The move was designed to remedy a situation that had been unsatisfactory for over 100 years.

What of these other issues? How far has the criminal justice system come in addressing these problems of the mentally disordered offender? It took another 28 years, 63 years from the Commission's original report, for the first new Federal facility to become operational. Indeed, the recently opened Regional Psychiatric Centre in

Saskatoon was planned, designed, and constructed for the housing, care, and treatment of the mentally abnormal offender. Although it has counterparts in British Columbia and Ontario, these other institutions are set in converted prisons.

The failure to resolve many of the other initially cited concerns has resulted in the continued existence of long term, practical problems. As Chalke (1973) notes, although our description of the clientele has varied, the difficulties have been perpetuated to the present day. The group has been known, at various times as poor unfortunates, feeble minded, epileptics, incorrigible, lunatics or criminal lunatics, insane or criminally insane, and now mentally disordered and mentally abnormal offenders. Yet "in the areas of both custody and treatment, similar very basic issues were of primary concern to the administrators of penal institutions in 1865" (Chalke 1973).

Chalke describes some of these issues and their practical ramifications. The first is that of jurisdiction. Responsibility for the mentally disordered offender shifts from one level of government to another or sometimes is shared by both with little demarcation as to respective responsibilities. Even within one level of government confusion as to jurisdiction may exist on an interdepartmental or intradepartmental level. Other concerns include the lack of appropriate classification of clientele, the control of admission to treatment, and the inadequacy of facilities. The resulting variation in the mental health of a prison population invariably leads to administrative and management difficulties.

The mentally disordered offender poses numerous interesting yet complicated questions for the social scientist. While these questions are often of both theoretical and empirical importance, they also involve legal, ethical and moral issues. Examples include the reliability of psychiatric diagnoses (Ziegler and Phillips, 1961), the validity of such constructs as 'psychopathy,' or legal classifications like 'dangerous offenders' (Klein, 1976), the prediction of violence (Lion and Kenefich, 1974), and the relationship between, or the ethics of, treatment efficacy and involuntary admission (Monahan and Hood, 1976).

Many of these are highly visible issues. They involve controversial legal procedures and command almost constant social attention. Yet upon analysis, one finds irony, paradox and inconsistency in the assumptions and arguments. For example, although jurisprudence ultimately rests on a premise of free will, the mentally disordered offender forms the major exception to this paradigm (Kittrie, 1971). Secondly, it is assumed that insanity negates free will and "the law does not punish people who lack the capacity for free choice" (Jeffrey, 1967). Nonetheless, it has been suggested that the insane, particularly those 'unfit to stand trial' are institutionalized longer but are less dangerous than their convicted counterpart (Quinsey and Boyd, 1977). Third, the disordered offender is often detained for treatment or societal protection, but such treatment is often unavailable or of undocumented value and accurate prediction of dangerousness remains illusive (Steadman, 1973). Lastly, it is assumed that these offenders lack volitional capacity or behavioral responsibility but may be detained for therapy. Yet the concept of responsibility is often held as being crucial to psychotherapeutic change.

These issues suggest a number of topics for study, including public perceptions of the mentally disordered offender, the influence of the media on the formation of these public perceptions and attitudes, and the impact of public attitudes upon the agencies which deal with mentally disordered offenders.

Let us discuss some matters of definition and inclusion. Clearly, those detained on warrants of the Lieutenant Governor (WLG), are mentally disordered offenders. They include those who have been found unfit to stand trial, not guilty by reason of insanity, or have become psychotic during their incarceration. The present review will include all mentally abnormal offenders, ie. those who are shown from an honest and sincere assessment, to require specialized care and treatment services. Within this larger group these particular types of offenders come to mind: the psychopath, the mentally retarded, and the sexual offender.

There is considerable variation in the degree of disorder within these three categories, since each represents a continuum. Some cases are clearly disordered and are, in fact, WLGs while others may be borderline cases or not disordered.

One further point should be made before proceeding. There are two distinct aspects of the mentally disordered offender's origin in the criminal justice system. One is well known, the other is not. A Warden at Kingston Penitentiary eloquently identified the two components many years ago. "To this miserable abode," he said describing a ward for the insane "are consigned the irresponsible unfortunates whose insanity led to crimes or <u>whose crimes led to insanity</u>" (Warden's Report, 1908). Although much has been said about mental disorder and

the judiciary, it is probably mental disorder occurring after the commission of an offence which is most tragic. Chalke (1973) notes the same concern and, in fact, describes three groups: those with mental illness as a life long disability, those whose illness is present on admission, and those who develop an illness after incarceration. He goes on to note that 4% of all inmates in the U.S. Federal prison system develop their first attack of psychosis while under sentence.

SURVEYS

The following are a number of surveys which report the incidence of abnormal offenders in relation to total inmate population, geographic representation, diagnoses, temporal effects and legal condition. Particular attention is devoted to the prairie region.

In a survey of psychiatric illness in the Canadian Penitentiary Service, Chalke (1973) circulated questionnaires to all prison directors and psychiatrists in 1971. He identified four groups into which cases could be allocated. The Acutely Ill were those described as having severe depression, psychosis, panic attack, confusional state, or toxic reaction of <u>two months or less</u> duration. They comprised 1% of the total population. The Subacute cases were those who were formerly acute cases but required active treatment beyond the two month period. They constituted 4.1% of the total population. Chronic patients were those schizophrenics, retardates, epileptics, and organically impaired who required continued care. They comprised 5.1% of the total population. In all, 10.2% were mentally disordered offenders diagnosed as psychiatrically ill.

Information was also collected on those thought to require particular or special treatment programs. They included the personality disordered, sexual offenders, drug addicts, and alcoholics. This group comprised 16% of the total inmate population. Therefore, the mentally abnormal offenders, (those requiring a particular setting, treatment program, or care), constituted about one quarter (26%) of the federal inmate population.

For comparative purposes a survey carried out in the Correctional Services of Canada, Pacific Region is presented. Roy, Mandelzys and Marceau (1978) surveyed five federal institutions in British Columbia. They included the British Columbia Penitentiary, Mountain Prison, Mission, Matsqui, and Ferndale. Senior staff (directors and assistant directors), treatment staff (psychologists, psychiatrists, health care officers), classification officers, and security officers were surveyed. Cases having received or being in need of psychiatric treatment were identified. At the time of the survey, 16.5% were identified as requiring psychiatric services. It was found that 10% of the population had received treatment at the Regional Psychiatric Centre (Pacific). Of these, 7.3% no longer required further treatment. Therefore by adding those currently requiring services and those successfully treated cases one finds that 23.9% of the population constituted the pre-treatment incidence of those requiring psychiatric services.

Lastly, Mullen (1979) identified the frequency of cases in the Prairie Region of the Correctional Services of Canada. His methodology included an archival search of medical records in the four major institutions. The goal of this survey was to calculate the frequency

of cases perceived as requiring psychiatric treatment. This was done by noting diagnoses and other medical records that had been charted in inmates' psychiatric files. Diagnoses were grouped into major categories, regional totals were compiled, and percentages calculated.

A number of interesting results were obtained. Of the total population, 3.5% were diagnosed as being psychotic, the major classification being schizophrenia, followed by psychotic depressive and paranoid states. A noticeably small percentage (.4%) were described as being mentally retarded. Together, these two groups total approximately 4% of the total inmate population. This figure is noteworthy because it descrbies what, as a very minimum, might be included under the phrase 'mentally disordered offender' and it corresponds closely with Chalke's (1973) national data.

Another 14% of the inmate population had been diagnosed in a variety of classifications which are subsumed under the general descriptor 'non-psychotic mental disorders,' the most common being personality disorders (5.1%), neuroses (3.6%), and alcoholism (2.7%). Mullen also included a fourth group of inmates for whom no diagnosis was available, but where medical records and reports indicated that psychiatric treatment, care, or special facility was appropriate for this 6.4% of the inmate population. Therefore, the total number of cases identified as requiring psychiatric treatment (24%) is very similar to the rates cited by Chalke (1973) and Roy et al. (1978). Indeed, the similarity in these figures is particularly noteworthy given the differences in procedure, design, geographic setting, timing, and mandate of the three investigations. It should be noted

that opinion is varied as to whether or not all of these groups ought to be included in determining the rate at which psychiatric care is required. The defense for such inclusiveness is simply that it makes functional sense. Sexual offenders, and others who are psychopathic, psychotic, alcoholic or neurotic,present unique problems to the correctional administrator. In addition to requiring special care and housing, they also form target populations for differential change processes and therapeutic intervention when compared with other offenders.

Other observations can be made from Mullen's (1978) data. For example, the incidence of affective disorders was found to be extremely low (.1%). The percentage of cases identified ranges from 34% at Saskatchewan Penitentiary and Stony Mountain, to 18% at Bowden and 2½% at Drumheller. The majority of schizophrenics are being housed in the Saskatchewan Penitentiary. Although differing diagnostic procedures may account for some of this variability, these results are more likely to be due to a classification procedure whereby the mentally disordered offender is referred to the more secure environment by the penitentiary placement officer.

These data suggest that approximately one out of every four federal inmates requires some kind of psychiatric treatment, special care, or facility. This is not to say that one-quarter of the inmates are mentally disordered, or in a state of mind which warrants certification under the Mental Health Act. Indeed, chronic patients were found to comprise 5% of the population in one study (Chalke, 1973), and 4% in a second study (Mullen, 1979). Instead, the figures

cited in these studies constitute an estimate of the number of offenders having some kind of mental abnormality.

Admittedly, this raises problems of definition. At one extreme, there is a view which is shared by the citizens of Samuel Butler's Erewhon that crime itself is an illness and that all those who suffer from it should receive the benefit of the psychopathologist's expertise. Not far removed are the positions of Bauer (1970), who has called mental illness and criminality "two sides of the same coin," and others who claim mental illness is a major factor in the incidence of violent crime (Paull and Malek, 1974). Other reports vary considerably over time, setting, locale, and the perspective or orientation of the researcher. Orr reports that British estimates have ranged from 10% to over 50% (1978). From the turn of the century through the 1920s it was a widely held opinion that there was a close relationship between mental deficiency, insanity, and crime in the United States where rates of 30% were found. Yet later, through the 30s, there was a tendency not to acknowledge mental disorder in the offender population (Chalke, 1973).

More recently, and closer to home, Coburn (1972) conducted a survey of the mental health of inmates at the Saskatchewan Penitentiary, a maximum security federal institution in Prince Albert. A random sample of 84 inmates was taken from a population of 400. Files were studied by a psychiatrist who interviewed each inmate and carried out a mental status examination. Having included the personality disorders (56%), alcoholism (39%), drug use (18%) and homosexuality (5%) among the mentally disordered, along with the

psychoses (12%)*, the author concluded that only 12% were without any apparent psychiatric illness.

Another approach one might take in determining the magnitude of the group being discussed is to poll the clients themselves. This procedure does have some documented validity in the mental health field (Rosenhan, 1973). At least one such report, published by the inmates of the Saskatchewan Penitentiary, claims that 50% of the federal prisoners are in need of treatment or proper psychiatric facilities (Leech, 1979).

Of particular interest and concern are those mentally disordered offenders who are detained on warrants of the Lieutenant Governor (WLG). Under a provision of the Criminal Code, those who are found unfit to stand trial or not guilty by reason of insanity may be detained indefinitely. A recent survey of WLGs across Canada (Quinsey and Boyd, 1977) investigated diagnoses and WLG categories by province. Virtually all WLGs (652) in Canada were surveyed, following enquiries to the chairpersons of the advisory boards in each province at the end of 1974. Collectively, the group had an average age of 38 years and had been detained for 5.8 years. In the Prairies, Alberta's WLGs tend to be younger (35 years) and detained for a shorter period of time (4.7 years). On the other hand, Saskatchewan and Manitoba WLGs tended to be older (43 and 41 years respectively), and detained for almost twice as long as the national average (9.8 years in Saskatchewan, and 11.1 years in Manitoba).

The ratio of diagnostic types and WLG category varied considerably from province to province, as well as within the three

* Multiple diagnoses were found in many subjects.

prairie provinces. For example, of the total 652 cases cited, 15% were diagnosed as having personality disorder. Currently, opinions vary as to whether or not such a diagnostic classification qualifies one for WLG status, and these differences of opinion are reflected in provincial percentages. Whereas this group constituted 27% of the WLGs in Ontario, it comprised only 4% of those in New Brunswick. Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba had 11%, 17% and 8% respectively, of their WLGs diagnosed as personality disordered. As one would expect, the psychotic group comprised the majority of the WLG group, 65% overall and 62% in the prairies. Retardates comprised 8% overall and 7% in the prairie region. The remaining subjects were either not diagnosed, or fell into some other diagnostic category (Quinsey and Boyd, 1977,.

With regard to legal 'source' in the prairie region, 28% of the WLGs had been found unfit to stand trial, 57% not guilty by reason of insanity, and 8% were found mentally ill after having been incarcerated in a correctional facility. If one were to visualize a screening process (Hartt, 1977), and these three classifications as successive levels, the resulting 'filter mechanism' varies considerably between provinces. For example, in Alberta only 7% of all WLGs had been found unfit to stand trial, whereas 78% were not guilty by reason of insanity and 15% were found to be mentally ill while incarcerated, suggesting that the principal screening occurs at the 'not guilty by reason of insanity' level. These rates are contrasted with New Brunswick where 67% of all WLGs had been found unfit to stand trial. WLGs not guilty because of insanity ranged from 85% of the Ontario cases, and 78% of the Alberta

cases, to 17% in New Brunswick, and 11% in Newfoundland (Quinsey and Boyd, 1977).

Considerable variability is also found in the percentage of offenders found mentally ill while incarcerated. In Manitoba, for example, none of the WLGs came from correctional institutions, while in Newfoundland almost half were diagnosed mentally ill after being admitted to a correctional facility. It is impossible to say whether Manitoba has a very good screening mechanism at the judicial level, a very poor diagnostic system in its correctional facilities, or an institutional system that is very conducive to mental health. What is apparent is that for WLG patients, policies, procedures, and definitions vary considerably not only from one geographic region to another, but even between provinces within one region such as the prairies.

It is also interesting to note the stage of the criminal justice process at which different diagnostic groups were selected out of the offender population. Only 14% of the WLGs diagnosed as personality disordered had been found unfit to stand trial, while 75% were found not guilty by reason of insanity. As one might expect, of those WLGs who were retarded two thirds had been found unfit to stand trial. Nonetheless, that leaves one third of the mentally retarded WLGs who passed through the trial stage, presumably competent to advise counsel. One third of these were then sentenced to regular correctional institutions. Among the psychotic patients 30% were found unfit to stand trial, 63% not guilty by reason of insanity and 7% were diagnosed as mentally ill while in a correctional facility. Lastly, it is interesting to note that 67% of the 547 WLGs screened at the

judicial level were fit for trial but found not guilty by reason on insanity. This implies that, although not responsible for their actions at the time of the crime, these patients were responsible enough to advise counsel. Whether this represents the so-called two thirds spontaneous remission rate of mental illness (Eysenck, 1969) or a quirk of the judicial process, is an interesting, but at this point unanswerable, question.

A recent report of 451 indicted felons found unfit to stand trial makes an international comparison possible and provides a breakdown of psychiatric diagnoses by crime. Siomopoulos (1978) assessed consecutive admissions from the Cook County Court in Illinois, through the years 1974 to 1976. Seventy-seven percent of his sample were diagnosed as schizophrenic or schizophreniform states. Only 9% of the sample were personality disorders. Eight percent fell within the mental retardation category and 6% had a diagnosis of organic brain syndrome. In comparison, the Quinsey and Boyd (1977) study of WLGs found psychotics comprised 65%, personality disorders 15% and mental retardates 8%.

An inspection of the types of offenses committed by diagnostic groups reveals some important findings. All of the organic brain syndrome cases had been charges with violent offences (homicide, aggravated battery, or attempted murder). In the retardate group, 77% had been charged with theft or burglary. Among the personality disordered group, theft and burglary constituted only 10%, while 75% of their offences were violent (rape, attempted murder, armed robbery, unlawful use of weapon, and aggravated battery; Siomopoulus, 1978).

In sum, these data demonstrate that the dangerousness of the mentally disordered offender varies substantially by diagnostic category.

These surveys raise a number of concerns about the mentally disordered offender. They include: the popular conception of the mentally disordered offender; the difficulties of assessment; the interrelation and impact of various social systems on one another; and the treatment of specific groups such as the retarded offender, the psychopath, and the sexual offender. These issues will be addressed in order.

PUBLIC PERCEPTION

In dealing with the mentally disordered offender, one is often constrained by public perceptions. Indeed, this becomes an important issue in providing treatment or specialized facilities. As evidenced recently in Saskatoon, the construction of specialized facilities is not greeted with widespread approval.

Steadman and Cocozza (1978) surveyed over 400 residents of New York State in a study concerning popular perceptions of the 'criminally insane.' Respondents rated three groups; 'most people,' 'mental patients,' and the 'criminally insane' on 14 semantic differential items such as weak-strong, bad-good, and dangerous-safe. In comparison with fear of the mental patient, the public's fear, distrust and rejection of the criminally insane was much greater. The criminally insane were described as being dangerous, harmful and violent. Further statistical analysis divulged another interesting fact. A factor analysis of the semantic differential items for 'most people' and 'mental patients' revealed that two over-riding factors,

unpredictability and dangerousness (each having four variables), emerged. Yet on responses pertaining to the criminally insane, these eight variables combined into one single factor. This analysis suggests that the public does not discriminate between the unpredictability and dangerousness of the criminally insane but sees this very unpredictability as being dangerous. Therefore it is not surprising that there is considerably less tolerance for the disordered offender than for other groups of mental patients.

What is the source of this powerful apprehension? Follow-up studies, such as the celebrated Baxstrom group (Steadman and Cocozza, 1974), the Dixon cases (Thornberry and Jacoby, 1977), and samples from security hospitals such as Oak Ridge at Penetanguishene suggest that the mentally disordered offender is no more dangerous than other ex-offenders or mental patients (Quinsey, Pruesse and Fernley, 1975 a, b).

A study by Monahan and Hood (1976) may help one to understand the amalgamation in the public's mind of unpredictability and dangerousness in their perception of the mentally disordered offender. Subjects were presented with a brief assault scenario. Some were given additional information about the criminal history of the offender, others a 'disordered history' and others no history. Subjects perceived the mentally disordered offender as having neither the capacity of free will nor responsibility for his actions. Although Monahan interprets these data as suggesting that the psychologically disordered offender may be worthy of compassion, the perceived lower volitional capacities of the disordered offender may be another reason why the public is uneasy, distrusting, and fearful.

Steadman and Cocozza (1978) suggest that common attitudes are largely a result of biased press coverage of the most bizarre cases. By asking respondents to identify a criminally insane person, they found further evidence to support a media-impact hypothesis. Most names cited were those of infamous characters who had received wide press coverage, including Charles Manson, Richard Speck, Lee Harvey Oswald, and Sirhan Sirhan. All had been involved in or accused of murder, yet none were found mentally ill. Truly mentally disordered offenders may commit only minor violations, yet they become identified in the public's mind with a group which includes the perpetrators of our most heinous offences. Ironically, the latter type of offender is usually excluded, at least legally, from this classification. This phenomenon may explain why the public perceptions of the criminally insane are so negative. As Steadman and Cocozza (1978) say, instead of "having an accurate picture of who ends up in institutions for the criminally insane - for instance recidivist robbers and burglars from marginal backgrounds - the public and the press generalize the cloak of mental illness to the persons involved in somewhat bizarre criminal activity."

ASSESSMENT

Much has been written about the validity of psychiatric diagnoses. Assessment of the mentally disordered offender is of particular concern in that one is often asked to predict dangerousness, thereby making release policies contingent upon psychiatric prognosis. Quinsey and Ambtman (1979) recently completed a study investigating the clinical variables that might affect such assessment. Both psychiatric and lay

opinions (teachers) were solicited in response to segments of patient information including social history, description of offence, and post-admission psychiatric assessment. The information was taken from files of child molesters and of person and property offenders.

A number of interesting results were obtained. For example, inter-rater reliability was generally low within groups in predicting likelihood of offence and in deciding on a patient's release. Interestingly, agreement was higher among the teachers than among psychiatrists in deciding likelihood of offence. Agreement was higher when offence data were provided than when historical or assessment information were available. The mean psychiatric assessment correlated highly (.75) with the mean teacher assessment. Using step-wise multiple regression procedures, the authors found that the offence information contributed most strongly to the overall assessment and prediction, while the historical data were of secondary importance. The psychiatric assessment information contributed minimally in both the psychiatric and teacher samples. Therefore the usefulness of psychiatric examinations in the prediction of dangerousness is indeed questionable. Perhaps such assessments should be devoted to the treatment potential of a case instead of its dangerousness (Quinsey and Ambtman, 1979).

PATIENT MOVEMENT

Current developments in the field of mental health should be of concern to judicial and correctional administrators. Changing policies and scientific advancement have drastically reduced the hospitalized psychiatric population. Deinstitutionalization, like its analog 'diversion' in corrections and 'normalization' in retardation, along with the advent

of the phenothiazines, has led to a strong community mental health movement and the emptying of psychiatric hospitals. Community mental health clinics and sheltered workshops with their lower per diem rates are also consistent with today's policies of fiscal restraint.

A study by Allodi, Kedward, and Robertson (1977) found that although some psychiatric cases are successfully integrated into their families, find their way to out-patient clinics and half-way houses, and are readmitted to the traditional 'revolving door' psychiatric facility, others who have been released to the community find their way into the criminal justice system. As predicted, he found that between the years of 1969 and 1973 the incidence of cases admitted to the Toronto Jail and assigned to a psychiatric unit increased from 2.4% to 3.7%. The rate of those having previous psychiatric hospitalization had increased from one percent to 1.7%. This corresponds with an overall decrease in hospital beds per thousand people from 3.4 in 1960 to 1.5 in 1972. Administratively independent bureaucracies are inextricably, but subtly related, and it is becoming apparent to some correctional authorities that deinstitutionalized patients from the mental health system are now, more than ever, being inherited by agencies of the criminal justice system.

RETARDED, PSYCHOPATHIC AND SEXUAL OFFENDERS

Mentally retarded offenders deserve special consideration for a number of reasons ranging from program development to humanitarian concerns and there is at least some evidence that their numbers are increasing. For example, an archival file search was carried out on over 1200 penitentiary admissions at Stony Mountain Institution over

a number of years (Wormith, 1977). At this institution, the Revised Beta Examination of intellectual functioning is routinely administered to incoming inmates as part of a diagnostic and reception assessment battery. Using the American Association of Mental Deficiencies' criterion of mental retardation which is an IQ of less than 70, a rising trend over time was found. The incidence of cases meeting this criterion between the years 1969 and 1972 was .9% while 3.7% had an IQ of 80 (borderline) or less. By the years 1976-77, an increase of almost four fold, to 3.4% was found and those having an IQ of 80 or less increased to 6.3%, although the overall average IQ (103) remained the same. These data suggest that the phenomenon pertaining to displacement of mentally disordered offenders from psychiatric facilities to correctional institutions has a comparable phenomenon in the displacement of retardates. Indeed, since deinstitutionalization by means of normalization policies in the field of retardation (Wolfensberger, 1972) has been as successful as the community mental health development, this comes as no surprise.

It is one matter to document these trends and another to respond accordingly. Traditionally, retardates are problematic in correctional institutions. They are victimized by other inmates, a thorn in the side of those trying to maintain order, and forgotten by program developers. Yet many provisions can be made for this small segment of the correctional population. Having obtained the above data, a specialized pre-academic program was devised for retarded and borderline inmates. The program consisted of individualized, half-hour tutorial sessions. The group, on the average, was found

to be functioning at a Grade Two level. As part of a summer program, these inmates were offered the opportunity to receive individual sessions on pre-academic and basic literary skills in the institution's school. Attention was focused on the acquisition of skills requisite for basic functioning.

The results were encouraging. The inmates reported pride in their being able to 'go to school.' A number of basic numerical and reading skills were acquired. After only 20 hours of instruction subjects gained an average of one half grade in arithmetic skills and four-tenths of a grade in reading and spelling. Not only were these results statistically significant ($p<.05$) but they demonstrate that programming attempts can be rewarded with client progress.

This study represents only one sample of a growing literature on treatment of the mentally retarded offender. For example, in Pima County, Arizona, the Probation Department has developed extensive programming and case worker guidelines for the retarded probationer. Items include environmental manipulation, supportive relationships, clarification and interpretation of guidelines (Talent and Kelgord, 1975). Santamour and West (1977) have recently published a prescriptive package "The Mentally Retarded Offender and Corrections," in which they contend that retardation is a condition and criminality a fact of behaviour. In order to develop an appropriate prescription for the retarded offender one must understand his condition. In the broad sense, they maintain that retardation is seen as a problem of dependence having four principal components: physical, social, economic, and residential. To promote independence, programming must focus on the development of personal and

physical skills, social and cognitive skills, vocational and economic skills, and residential skills. In Saskatchewan, the Prince Albert Association for the Treatment of Mentally Retarded Offenders recently has received a seed grant from the Consultation Centre of the Solicitor General's Department to develop a residential facility for the retarded offender. These efforts constitute only a few of the many new and exciting attempts to accommodate and provide treatment efforts for the mentally retarded offender (Browning, 1976; Idelberger, 1978).

Psychopathic offenders constitute another interesting and problematic group. Their membership in the mentally disordered group is often contested (Cirali, 1978). In part, this problem results from the numerous, and poorly operationalized attributes of the psychopath (Cleckly, 1976). Therefore, psychopathy is often treated as a matter of degree, as is evidenced by the use of such terms as primary and secondary psychopath. Estimates of psychopathy may run as high as 50% of correctional populations (Coburn, 1972).

Since responsibility and volition are two criteria used in determining mental disorder among offenders, there is at least some evidence that the psychopath may qualify for inclusion in the disordered group. EEG studies on the evoked potential of psychopaths reveal that neurological responses are not elicited to harsh or irritating stimuli. Since these brain potentials are related to attention and decision making, it appears that neurologically, psychopaths who do not respond to unpleasant stimuli may not only comprise a distinct group but may be justifiably classified as mentally ill (Fenton, Fenwick and Ferguson, 1978; Restak, 1979).

Canadian data also confirm that psychopaths are a clinically identifiable group. Yeudall (1977) is investigating neuropsychological correlates of psychopathy. In the sample referred to him at the Alberta Hospital in Edmonton, 91% of the psychopathic cases displayed neurological dysfunction as determined by an extensive test battery. Secondly, there was a disproportionate representation of left hemisphere impairment, 64% as compared to 27% in the right hemisphere. The relevance of these data to outcome is provided by an earlier study of Ontario Provincial offenders referred for EEG analysis (Carlson, 1975). Inmates with borderline or abnormal charts had a recidivism rate of 89% while similarly referred cases with a normal EEG result had a recidivism rate of 63%.

These neurophysiological data concerning the psychopath may suggest a pessimistic note for their habilitation. For example, the "Opportunities Model" currently popular in federal corrections (Solicitor General, 1977) is based on the concept of volition, responsibility, and independence of action. Such an approach may prove to be inadequate. This laissez-faire or 'opportunity provision' approach to correctional case work does not seem relevant or appropriate in view of the recent literature.

This is not to say that remediation is impossible. One experimental program for psychopathic offenders in an American federal prison, appropriately titled "Looking in the Correctional Wastebasket" (Ingram, Gerard, Quay, and Levinson, 1970), presents some encouraging results. The accent was on behavioral, as opposed to verbal, therapeutic modalities. Subjects were compared with a number

of control groups. By designing a structured, well-defined, and well-organized program, these authors were able to demonstrate marked behavioral improvement, as measured by institutional offenses and other reports. It should be noted that, first, improvement was demonstrated on naturalistic, behavioral measures, and second, these changes were realized by the provision of an activity-oriented program with well delineated content and limits. Elsewhere, the intense, highly structured program for mentally disordered offenders in the Social Therapy Unit at Oak Ridge (Barker and Mason, 1968) has also had some dramatic effects on psychopathic offenders. Other procedures include chemotherapy, behavior modification, arousal modification and structured group therapy (Suedfeld and London, 1978).

Lastly, the sexual offender also deserves particular attention. In 1958, the Royal Commission on Sexual Psychopaths called for improved treatment of incarcerated sexual offenders. There is still concern about the lack of resources and treatment facilities in Canada for this segment of the correctional population.

The issue was addressed by a Parliamentary Sub-Committee (MacGuigan, 1977). The committee noted that in 1977 only 10 inmates in the prairie region participated in any kind of sexual offender program. It went on to recommend (No. 59) separate facilities for such offenders because of their specialized therapy needs. Currently, many sexual offenders are being housed in maximum security protective custody units. A response (1977) to that report from the Solicitor General's office (1977) indicated that various treatment models are being closely examined.

During 1978 a survey of sexual offenders in the prairie region was conducted to examine some of their legal and demographic characteristics (Wormith, 1978). All federal institutions in the prairies were sampled. Once a list of offenders was obtained, their classification officers were asked to respond to a questionnare. Comparisons were made with other recent surveys of non-sexual offenders and a number of interesting facts were discovered. The percentage of federal inmates who are incarcerated for a sexual offence at any one time is in the vicinity of 10 percent. In the prairie region, this included 168 of 1723 inmates, or 9.75%of the population. Table I gives legal and demographic data on the sexual offenders in relation to security level.

Approximately 63% of the group had current convictions of rape. About one quarter of the sexual offenders were described by their classification officers as being amenable to treatment. About 71% were serving their first federal incarceration. When compared with non-sexual offenders a disproportionate number of sexual offenders had no high school education and were married. They also tended to come from Manitoba and Alberta. A historical review revealed that the percentage of sexual offenders increased substantially over previous years. In 1976 the rate was up by 19% from the previous year while the total inmate population increased by only 1%. Following this increase, the ratio of sexual offenders in the prairie federal inmate population has been maintained (9.75%).

There are a few reputable programs presently available in Canada for the treatment of sexual offenders. For example, the Mental Health Centre at Penetanguishene has been particularly effective in

TABLE 1

A LEGAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF SEXUAL OFFENDERS IN THE PRAIRIE REGION PRESENTED BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Total	Maximum Security Institutions	Medium Security Institutions	Minimum Security Institutions	Farm Camps	Community Correctional Centres
Total Sex Offenses	168	75	60	5	20	8
Rape	105	47	36	1	16	5
Attempted Rape	7	4	3	0	0	0
Sexual Intercourse under 16	12	6	3	1	2	0
Indecent Assault	20	7	9	2	1	1
Incest	6	1	2	1	1	1
Buggery/Bestiality	5	2	3	0	0	0
Indecent Assault (Male)	4	2	2	0	0	0
Gross Indecency	3	2	1	0	0	0
Dangerous Sexual Off.	6	4	1	0	0	1
Mean Age	28.9	30.3	27.5	38.8	28.9	32.1
Home Province						
British Columbia	4	3	0	0	1	0
Alberta	61	39	8	3	6	5
Saskatchewan	32	16	4	2	9	1
Manitoba	52	6	41	0	4	1
Ontario/Quebec	8	5	2	0	0	1
Maritimes	2	2	0	0	0	0
Other/None	9	4	5	0	0	0
Marital Status						
Single	80	37	31	2	7	3
Married	44	22	14	1	4	3
Common Law	27	8	11	0	7	1
Widowed	4	2	0	1	1	0
Separated	4	1	3	0	0	0
Divorced	9	5	1	1	1	1

TABLE 1 (continued)

	Total	Maximum Security Institutions	Medium Security Institutions	Minimum Security Institutions	Farm Camps	Community Correctional Centres
Education						
Grade 0 - 4	5	1	3	0	1	0
Grade 5 - 8	47	18	16	4	6	3
Grade 9 - 11	39	24	9	0	3	3
Grade 12 - Beyond	12	6	2	1	1	2
Not Given	65	26	30	0	9	0
Incarceration History Federal						
First Incarceration	120	52	45	0	17	6
Second Term	23	8	7	3	3	2
Third Term	12	5	5	2	0	0
Fourth Term or More	13	10	3	0	0	0
Previous Time Served Federal						
None	120	52	45	0	17	6
6 months - 2 years	17	7	5	2	2	1
2 years - 5 years	19	8	7	3	0	1
More Than 5 years	12	8	3	0	1	0
Mean Sentence Length (Years)						
Not including life or indefinite	5.1	5.6	5.1	3.6	3.8	4.4

the assessment and treatment of pedophiles (Quinsey, Bergersen, and Steinman, 1976). The Regional Psychiatric Centre in Kingston currently has an active assessment, educational, and treatment program. In a recent paper Marshall and Barbaree (1978) describe the treatment of deviant sexual arousal. Using a penile plethysmograph they monitored the rapid decrement in arousal to inappropriate verbal stimuli that occurred in response to aversion and satiation-type procedures. Elsewhere, other techniques are employed. In Sherbrooke for example, Gagne (1979) reports a 90% success rate using psychotherapy coupled with a chemical treatment which inhibits the synthesis of testosterone (Spodak, Falch and Rappeport, 1978). Other techniques include training in empathy (Becker, Abel, Blanchard, Murphy and Coleman, 1978; Freeman, 1978) and using community volunteers as lay therapists (Barnett, 1978). Although a recent survey in the U.S. found that nothing in particular is being done for the vast majority of sex offenders, a total of 20 innovative and novel treatment programs were found, providing fresh insights into the nature of sex offenders (Brecher, 1978).

SUMMARY

In summary, there are many unresolved issues pertaining to the mentally abnormal offender. Areas of concern range from theoretical definitions, to empirically justified classifications, reliable diagnoses, the incidence of disorder, legal procedures and the geographic or regional equity of their administration, public opinion, the impact of other social systems on corrections and the development of treatment modalities for different types of disordered offenders. As surveys continue to provide consensual validation for

the contention that one of every four federal inmates is mentally abnormal in some manner and requires specific intervention or care, these problems are not insignificant but of grave concern. Research on various target groups such as the retardate, psychopath, and sexual offender is encouraging in that greater understanding is leading to more efficient remediation.

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POLICING IN THE PRAIRIES

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ABSTRACT

Current and recent research relating to police and law enforcement in the prairie region is reviewed. The material is grouped into four categories: police administration, police roles, police training, and police/community relations. Areas of seeming neglect are identified and possible research topics are presented and discussed.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is intended to present a variety of research efforts relating to law enforcement and the art of policing in the prairie provinces. As such, it presents examples that have recently been published as books or journal articles, as well as a number of research undertakings that are currently in process. Some of the examples represent the work of academic faculty members from several western Canadian universities. Other examples, however, represent the efforts of professional police officers and the paid staff of commercial research organizations. While the majority of the examples are intended for eventual publication, a few of them are intended solely as in-house research to help decision-makers with respect to policy formation. Together, however, they represent the work that is being done concerning the art of policing in the prairies.

Since this is a paper about research, the discussion will centre on those who are doing the work, the subject matter of their projects, and whatever plans they may have for publication of their work upon completion. A citation is provided if the work is already published. Where appropriate, discussion of the major variables and the research populations or samples will be presented.

THE RESEARCH

To facilitate the orderly presentation of the prairie research materials, a classification system of four categories is employed. The first of these concerns the general topic of police

administration. Here are grouped studies concerning negotiations within the system, the processing of complaints, and decisions concerning control and direction of police operations. The second category is concerned with police role performance, and includes research projects which assess police job performance under stress, and police handling of rape cases. The third category contains studies of police training and methods of selection and promotion. The final category concerns police/community relations and includes studies of natives and the police, policing a deteriorated core area of a city, and the experience which citizens have with their police.

Police Administration

Perhaps the most widely known researcher on police administration from the prairie area is Brian Grosman. Professor Grosman's major work on this subject is his book entitled, Police Command: Decisions and Discretion. This was a study of police policy-making that took him to Vancouver, Edmonton, Regina, Winnipeg and Toronto. He was concerned with the tensions generated by police chiefs who wished to encourage flexibility and innovation in their departments, but, at the same time, desired to retain command and control. Although the study has been criticized for the unflattering portrait which it draws of several Canadian police chiefs, and for its methodological weaknesses, it does provide valuable information from the visits which Grosman made to police departments in five Canadian cities and three comparable cities in the United States. The book was published by Macmillan in 1975.

More recently Professor Grosman has contributed a chapter on police administration to Canadian Confederation at the Crossroads, a book recently published by the Fraser Institute in Vancouver. His chapter entitled, "Law Enforcement: Restoring the Balance," concerns legal research into policy formation and the question of who makes the major decisions for the R.C.M.P. or for local police departments.

Another contributor to research regarding police administration is John Klein, criminologist at Simon Fraser University. His most well known work on this subject is the book entitled, Lets Make a Deal - Negotiated Justice. This work, published by D.C. Heath in 1976, concerned plea bargaining and other negotiated settlements. Police were only one of several bargaining agents, along with attorneys and sometimes judges. Police were found to bargain for information. Klein based his research upon interviews with one hundred and fifteen criminal offenders who had negotiated settlements with police, prosecutors and others in the criminal justice system.

A very promising piece of research on police administration has recently been undertaken by Rick Linden, Criminologist at the University of Manitoba. His project entitled, "A Comparative Study of Women in the Vancouver Police Department and in the R.C.M.P." is designed to evaluate the suitability of females for various types of police work and to identify problems which may occur in the employment of female police. The findings will provide recommendations to police departments to help them minimize any problems of that type. Professor Linden indicates

that his survey will study all female officers in the lower mainland of British Columbia. This will include forty-three members of the Vancouver Police Department and thirty-five members of the R.C.M.P. In addition, interviews will be obtained from fifty training supervisors who work with the women. Finally, questionnaire data will be obtained from two hundred male officers in the two departments. The final report of this study will be made in 1980.

On the same topic of women police, William Whetstone of the Law Enforcement Division of the Alberta Solicitor General's Department has recently completed a study entitled, "Women in Policing in Alberta." This was a project to identify relevant criteria for an evaluation of the effectiveness of women police. The research population included forty-six policewomen in Alberta and forty-two male field trainers who had worked with them. Whetstone's research was an in-house study not intended for publication. It was, however, presented at the 1978 Conference of Police Commissioners.

The final example of research in the area of police administration consists of a project undertaken in 1978 by the Manitoba Police Commission. This was a study entitled, "Complaint Procedures and Police Commissions." It was an in-house study to be used by legislators as an aid to their policy making. Publication of the research report is not anticipated.

Police Role

A good example of current research concerning the role of police is provided by a study entitled, "Assessment of the Dakota

Ojibway Tribal Council Police Force." This project has been contracted by the Solicitor General of Canada, Indian Affairs, and the Attorney General of Manitoba. The contract was placed with Decision Dynamics Company of Toronto. The project is being directed by Miss Sharon Moyer. The study will involve a"process" evaluation of tribal police forces on seven Indian reserves in Southern Manitoba. The project will continue for three years and will include a time lapse feature that involves two time periods. The purpose of the evaluation is to find ways of improving the delivery of police services to the seven reserves. A final report will be presented to the Solicitor General of Canada who may or may not decide to make it public.

A very different aspect of the police role is being investigated by Stuart Johnson and Rick Linden of the University of Manitoba, and Lorne Gibson of the University of Alberta. Their study concerns situational variables associated with rape cases and the manner in which the cases are processed through the criminal justice system in Manitoba. Phase One of the study concerns police handling of rape cases. Phase Two, which is currently in process, concerns the way in which rape cases are handled by the Crown Prosecutor. The final phase will examine the way in which the cases which go to trial are processed by the criminal courts. The sample consists of three hundred and forty-four rapes and attempted rapes which were reported to the Winnipeg police between 1966 and 1975. To date the study has resulted in one published article, one article in submission, two papers presented at scholarly meetings, and Lorne Gibson's Ph.D

dissertation. Several further articles are anticipated from later stages in the project.

One aspect of the police role is related to the attitudes which the police hold toward their work. In an attempt to explore this relationship, Professor J.S. Neufield of the University of Regina, Faculty of Education undertook a study of the attitudes which police hold toward mental illness. His concern was with social psychological variables which he observed in a small sample of Regina Police and R.C.M.P. Although the work was completed some time ago, it has not as yet been published.

Another type of research undertaken with respect to police roles is represented by the work of Dr. William Barker, Staff Psychologist with the Calgary Police Department. He has completed several in-house studies concerning topics such as methods of vocational selection for police, effects of stress upon police behaviour, and the feasibility of a crisis intervention unit for the Calgary police. While all of these research projects relate to police work in the prairies, none of them are intended for publication.

A final example of research bearing on police roles is a study of paraprofessionalism done for the City of Winnipeg Police Commission by Joyce Epstein and S. Vanderhoef of the University of Winnipeg Institute of Urban Affairs. This was a study of paraprofessionalism in several professions such as medicine, law, social work, and police work. The results of this research were published by the Institute of Urban Affairs in 1977.

Police Training

In the area of police training, Lawrence Breen and John R. McFerran of the University of Manitoba, Department of Psychology, report an untitled study of police selection and promotion practices. This study which is still in process will use mock police situations for recruitment and promotion evaluations. A part of the research concerns the relationship between job assignments of different divisions within the police department and to different police districts within the city, as these factors may be related to job performance and eventual promotion. The work was undertaken as an in-house study for internal use by the Winnipeg Police Department. Publication is not anticipated.

Also in the area of police training is a study entitled, "Blueprint for Career Planning and Placement," by Albert Cahoon and Julie Rowney of the University of Calgary School of Management Studies for the Calgary Police Department. This study seeks to develop a career path along which the individual may progress as rapidly as desired. It involves career placement based on task performance and is in many respects similar to the concept of programmed learning in which the student advances at his own rate. The research is still in its early stages and publication is not expected for at least two years.

Police Community Relations

In November of 1975, the University of Winnipeg Institute of Urban affairs published a study by Lloyd Axworthy and J. Christie entitled, "Winnipeg Core Area: An Assessment of Conditions Affecting Law Enforcement." This was a study of the physical and

social conditions of an inner city neighborhood as they related to policing problems. The study included recommendations for changes in policing situation.

Douglas Skoog and Lance Roberts, sociologists from the University of Winnipeg and the University of Manitoba, respectively, have recently completed a study entitled, "Natives and the Police." This was a study of both Indian and white perceptions and interactions with police in several types of communities. The main variables which these researchers studied consisted of perceptions which citizens have of police agencies, patterns of actual contact with police, and measures of the quality of relationships which they have with the police. The research population consisted of samples of two hundred and sixty-four whites and three hundred and thirty-eight natives. Research locations included Winnipeg (an industrial city), The Pas (a small town), and Norway House (a bush community). All of these locations are in Manitoba. The study has been completed and the researchers report that their results have been submitted to several journals.

Somewhat along the same lines as the Axworthy study reported above, Joyce Epstein of the University of Winnipeg Institute of Urban Affairs has conducted a study entitled, "Neighborhood Police Team Experiment: An Evaluation." This was an evaluation of a project which the Winnipeg Police Department called Operation Affirmative Action. It involved a neighborhood police unit in a core area of Winnipeg. Their purpose was to promote better community relations and better community policing. The

officers had the task of dealing with native Indians in a deteriorating area of the city. They were allowed an unusual amount of individual discretion in their work and were instructed to stress informality and availability to the local population. The researcher conducted before and after interviews with three hundred and ninety-three residents and one hundred and one business firms in the research area. In addition, two hundred and nine police who had been involved in the project provided data concerning their experiences with the project and their thoughts concerning it. The report of the study was published in 1978 by the Institute of Urban Affairs.

The final example of a study of police/community relations concerns research performed by John Klein of Simon Fraser University, and Jack Webb and J.E. DiSanto, both from the University of Calgary. This study was entitled, "Experience with the Police and Attitudes Toward the Police." In the conduct of this research, consensus and conflict perspectives were used to analyze contacts which citizens had with the police. Support was found for the consensus model. Lower class informants had the most favourable impression of the police. The survey data were based on 1,816 questionnaires obtained from a sample of 3,750 households in Calgary, Alberta. The study emphasized perception variables. Social class estimates were based upon occupation, education and income data. The results were published in the Canadian Journal of Sociology, in 1978.

NEGLECTED AREAS OF RESEARCH

Although the above survey indicates a considerable amount of research on police and law enforcement is being done in all three prairie provinces, it is evident that there exist a number of neglected areas toward which no research efforts are presently being directed. While any attempt to rank research topics in terms of their importance would be presumptuous, it does seem worthwhile to draw attention to some of the seemingly neglected areas and direct the thinking of scholars and other interested persons to them.

Noticeable by its absence is any type of research dealing with the problems of police misbehaviour. Although it seems likely that police corruption in the prairies is minimal, allegations that police use excessive force in the conduct of their duties are common enough to warrant at least some research effort in that direction.

Another equally neglected topic concerns police unionism. Whether or not anyone likes or dislikes the principle of collective bargaining applied to police service, the fact remains that police unions exist and are a growing factor in the police decision-making process. They should be studied.

Finally, no one seems to be doing any research into alternatives to reactive policing. As clearance rates drop for some kinds of reported crimes and the cost of policing goes up, it would seem worthwhile to do some research on the feasibility of switching to proactive policing and crime prevention.

In conclusion, although much interesting and worthwhile work has been done and is currently being done in the prairie provinces, the state-of-the-art of research on police and law enforcement is such that

the future holds great promise if only we have the enthusiasm and the imagination to take advantage of the opportunities which it offers.

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NATIVES AND JUSTICE:

A TOPIC REQUIRING RESEARCH PRIORITY?

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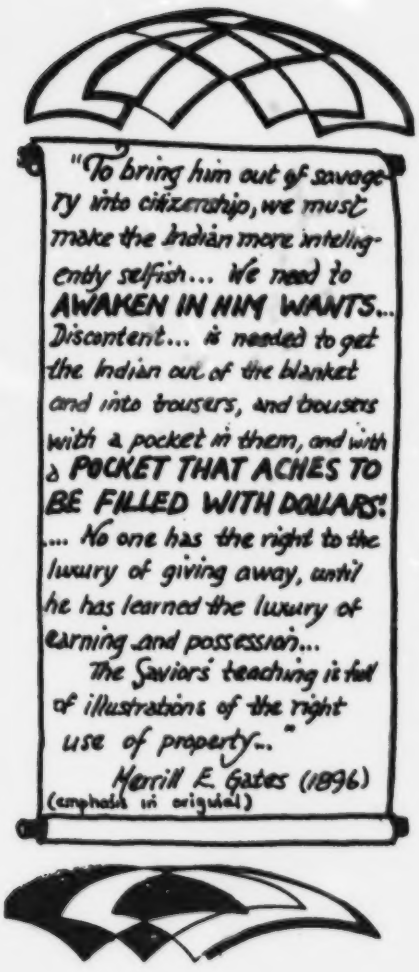
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to review available literature on the relationships between Native Canadian (Indians and Metis) and the criminal justice system in the prairie provinces.

A background of relevant demographic and social conditions provides a meaningful setting for a review of a selection of literature covering historical information, commentaries on modern conditions of natives in general, and a wide but underdeveloped range of material specifying the relationship between natives and police, courts and corrections. The paper demonstrates the existence of a wide variety of resources dealing with the topic, but a paucity of systematically available data. The overlapping relationships between facts, recommendations and political treatises are also shown to be characteristic of the existing literature. Sources of publicly available data are pinpointed as specifically as possible, and various government and non-government organizations are chastized for their failure to release vital information.

Finally, the problems surrounding valid and relevant research in this subject area are outlined, and priorities for research in the immediate future are suggested.


"To bring him out of savagery into citizenship, we must make the Indian more intelligently selfish... We need to AWAKEN IN HIM WANTS... Discontent... is needed to get the Indian out of the blanket and into trousers, and trousers with a pocket in them, and with a POCKET THAT ACHES TO BE FILLED WITH DOLLARS! .... No one has the right to the luxury of giving away, until he has learned the luxury of earning and possession... The Saviors' teaching is full of illustrations of the right use of property..."
Merrill E. Gates (1896)
(emphasis in original)

Before the coming of the white man, we had a pretty good education system. It was flexible and it served our needs. We also had a code of morals and ethics, and an economic system. The only thing that wasn't so good was our immigration policy...

-DISTRICT COUNCIL
of
B.C. INDIAN CHIEFS

PART 1

BASIC FACTORS IN SOCIAL SETTING

A. WHAT IS A NATIVE?

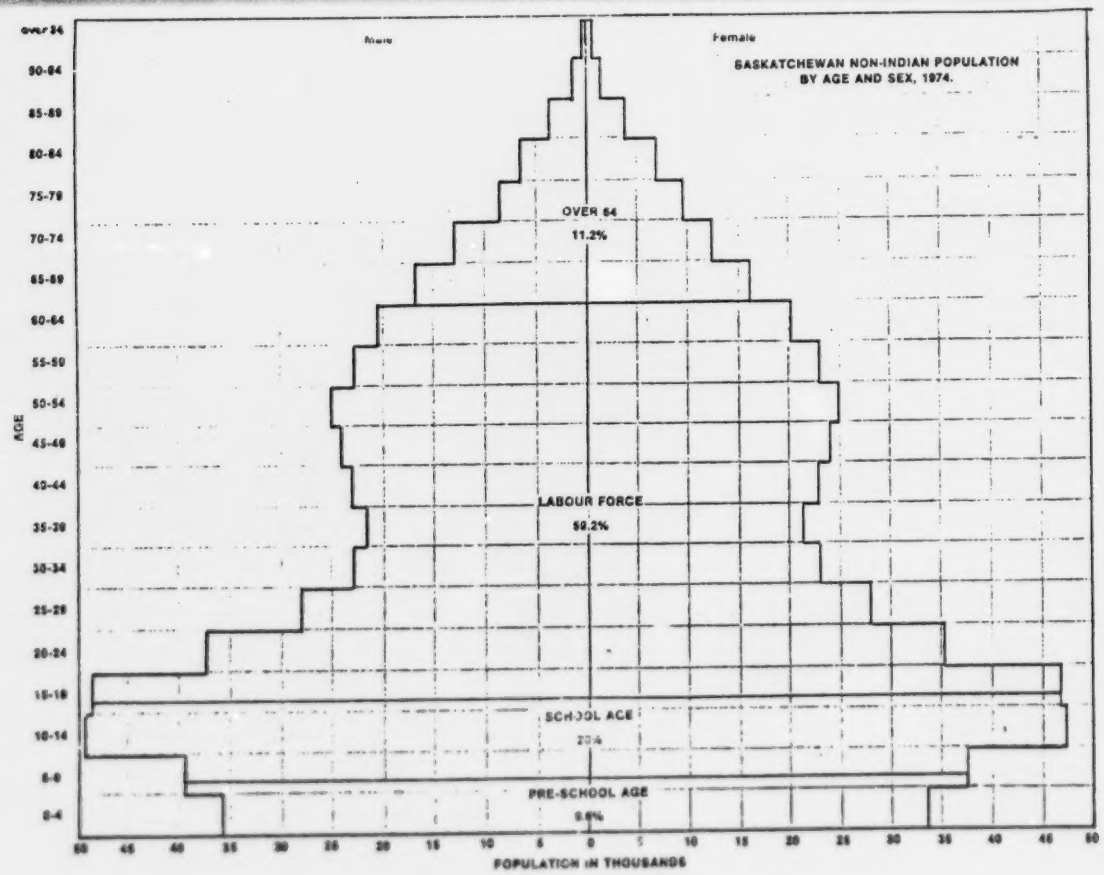
The trained sensitivity of the academic world demands that a paper entitled Natives and Justice begin by justifying and thereby excusing itself from all politically-based criticism.

The term native will designate any individual who is at least one quarter blood descendant of the indigenous peoples of the country we now call Canada.[1] However, this choice of terminology is not meant to disregard the demand of various kinds of natives that others remain sensitive to their distinct historical and legal statuses. There are two groups of Natives: status and non-status. "Status" natives are called Indians and are legally designated as such because they or their direct ancestors signed legal agreements (treaties) with the Crown or with the government of Canada, or who because of their aboriginal position, today maintain a distinct position by virtue of the Canadian Indian Act (1876). This act designates the Federal Government as the main liaison agent and guarantees historically defined political, economic, and social relationships between Status Indians and the Government of Canada. During the signing of the treaties between 1871 and 1877, there was a considerable mixed-blood population in the three prairie provinces, and a large group of these lived with, identified with, and spoke the same language as full-blood Indians. Under the treaties they were recognized as Indians, and consequently some modern-day status Indians are not full-blood descendants. At the same time, many of the mixed blood population (namely French and Scotch Metis) owned their own land, engaged in farming and trading, and lived intermixed with white

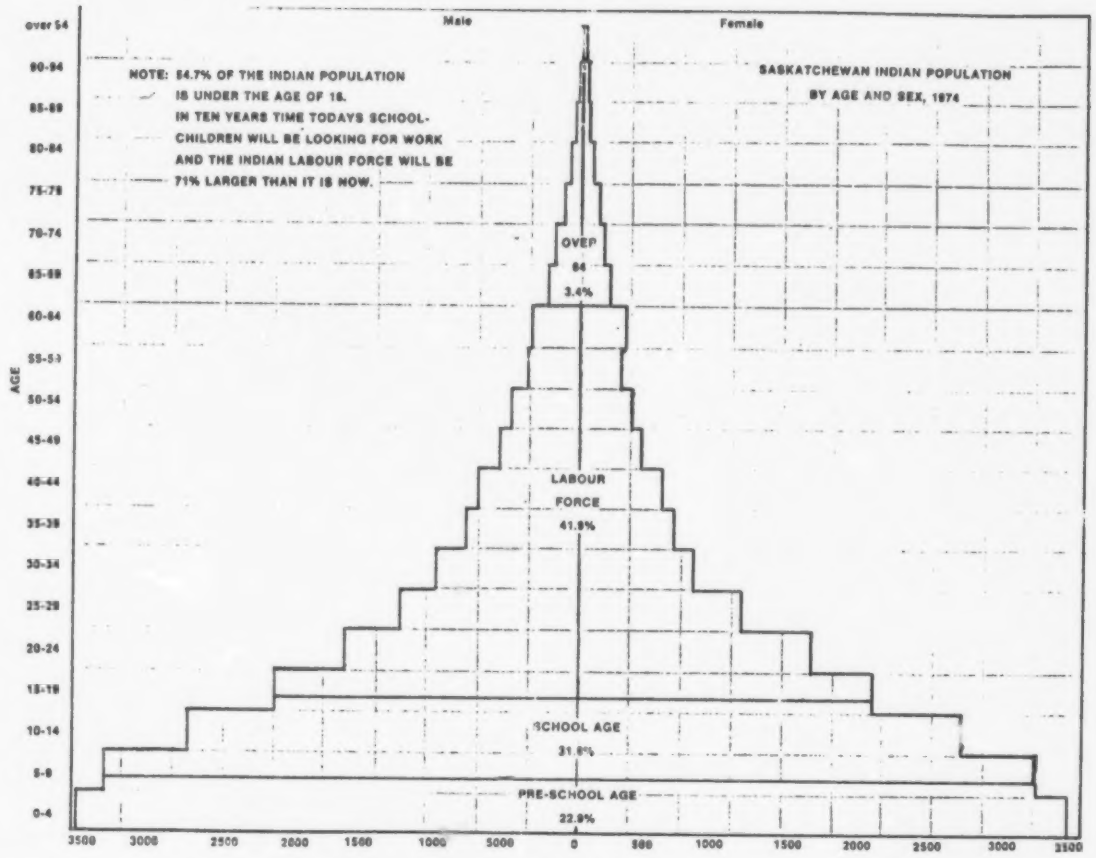
settlers and so were afforded no special legal status, and guaranteed no special provisions. Although both status and non-status native peoples today fight for separate political and cultural identities from whites and from each other, there are no crucial biological differences between these two groups, and in any given locality, their socio-cultural characteristics are similar. Their separation, however, is a modern legal-political reality, and underlies many jurisdictional debates in the provision of services. (See the appendix for more detailed definition of types of natives.)

B. POPULATION

The Indian population of the prairie provinces at the beginning of the 19th century was estimated at about 30,000, a number reduced drastically by smallpox epidemics, so that approximately the same number were still here in 1900. By the late 1960s the Indian population was around 100,000, almost equally distributed across Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1967). A rough estimate puts the number of Metis also at about 100,000 (Hawthorn, 1966; and Data Sheet on Saskatchewan Indians, Government of Saskatchewan, 1976). At an estimated annual rate of increase of 3-4%, the native population in the prairies could double in less than 25 years, largely due to a high fertility rate, and a decreasing infant mortality rate.[2] Potentially, the population growth rate may be affected by the urban economic and ideological pressures which have slowed the growth of other groups in North America, but if so, the impact will not be



Source: Government of Saskatchewan,
Department of Social Services



Source: Government of Saskatchewan
Department of Social Services.

immediate, nor guaranteed. If anything, population growth projections for Indian and Metis for the next twenty years, are very conservative.

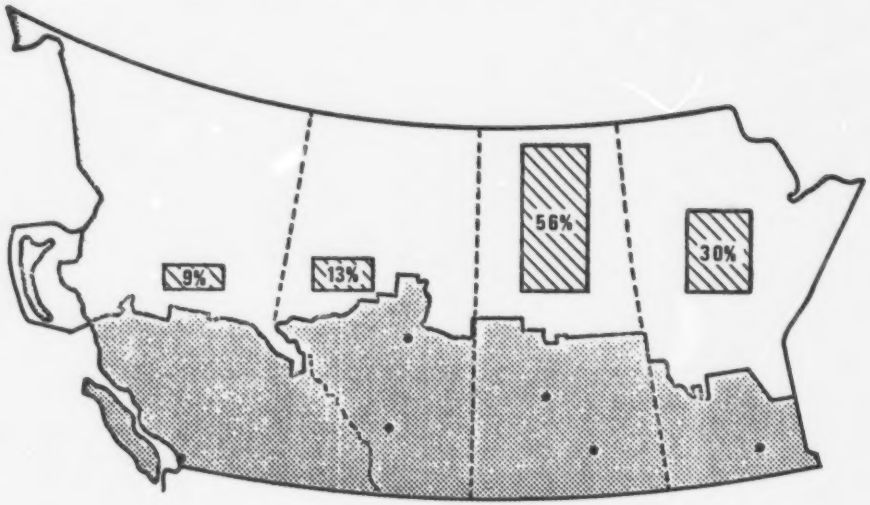
> In 1971 . . . 43.4% of the native people counted in the Census as "Native Indians" were living in the Prairie Provinces, compared to 21.1% in Ontario, 17.7% in British Columbia, 11.1% in Quebec, 3.4% in the Atlantic provinces, and 3.3% in the Yukon and N.W.T. (Anderson, Review Essay, 1976).

C. THE NORTHERN NATIVE

The home of the northern native in the three prairie provinces is untold square kilometres of lakes, rivers, muskeg and bush, dotted with small settlements, outfitting posts, and a few single industry towns. The land supports no more than 5% of the population of the three provinces. Yet of that small number, a large proportion are native, engaged mainly in trapping, fishing, logging, and government subsidization programs. Although the enormous economic gap between native and non-native people in the prairie region is witnessed everywhere, it is magnified in the north, where weather, distance, and isolation reduce the efficiency in the provision of standard services and where the gaps left by the loss of traditional ways of life have not been easily filled. It is also in the empty north where the glaring picture presents itself: the subsidized comfort of the white industry town rubbing shoulders with unimaginable conditions of the native settlement.

It has been too easy to think of the north as populated by two castes — whites and natives, each having their own separate problems. Today, as business exploitation increases, very distinct "publics" are

WESTERN NORTHLANDS
TERRES SEPTENTRIONALES DE L'OUEST

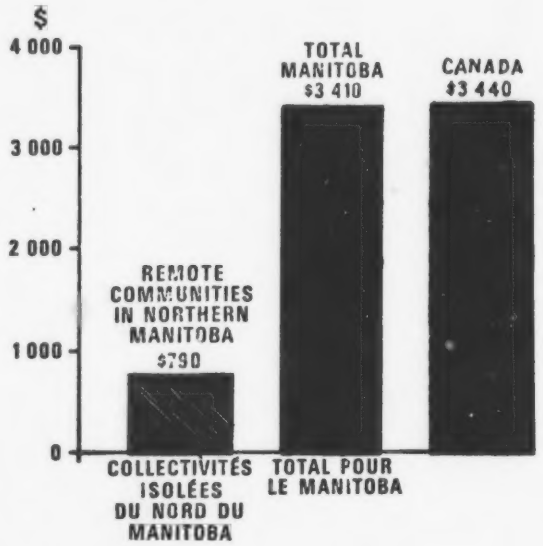


NATIVE POPULATION AS % OF TOTAL POPULATION IN THE WESTERN NORTHLANDS

POPULATION AUTOCHTONE EN % DE LA POPULATION TOTALE DES TERRES SEPTENTRIONALES DE L'OUEST

Source: Department of Regional and Economic Expansion, 1976
Climate for Regional Development.

DISPOSABLE INCOME PER CAPITA
REVENU DISPONIBLE PAR HABITANT
(1973)



Source: Department of Regional and Economic Expansion, 1976.
Climate for Regional Development

emerging in response: Indians on reserves; temporarily imported white business, administrative and service personnel; Metis living in one place and working in another; whites born in and committed to the north; government employees at various levels, and so on.

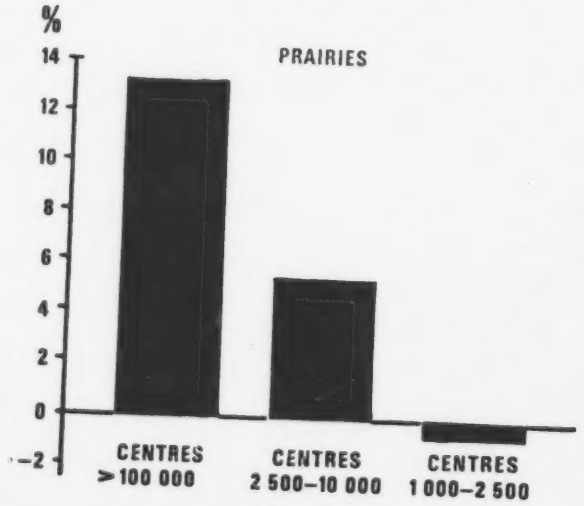
The key to differentiating them is no longer in skin color, but in motivation, life experiences, and commitment to the north. Carrying out valid research on the topic of natives and justice in the north requires at best a background understanding of colonialism, frontier community development, the politics of exploitation and the practical implications of the northern ecology.

D. RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

The population base of the rural community in the Prairies is being eroded by a profound rural-urban shift. For example, in Manitoba, Winnipeg has accounted for most of the urban growth, and now accounts for over 60% of the provincial population. Calgary and Edmonton have witnessed strong rates of growth, while small centers, almost without exception, show a constant decline in population levels (Department of Regional and Economic Expansion, 1976). In this respect, the native population is involved in a commonly experienced population redistribution process.

"The greatest rates of urbanization of Indians during the 1960s were in Saskatchewan and New Brunswick, where the urban proportion roughly quadrupled" (Anderson, 1978). In Manitoba and Alberta the urban native population tripled. In the decade of 1961-71, the Indian population in the city of Calgary increased sevenfold; in Thompson,

% CHANGE IN POPULATION
CHANGEMENT EN % DE LA POPULATION
(1966 – 1971)



Source: Department of Regional and Economic Expansion, 1976.
Climate for Regional Development

Manitoba, the number multiplied by fifteen (Anderson, 1978).[3] There is room for some debate about the process of migration (Frideres, 1974: 92-93). In the southern parts of the prairies, and for natives who live near a major city, the rural-to-urban migration seems to be characterized by a leap from very small centers and both isolated and transitional reserves, directly to a large urban center. On the other hand, the northern native population seems to follow what has come to be known as a "drift" process, progressing from a rural setting which is exclusively or predominantly native, to a small nearby "mixed" settlement and moving eventually to a larger center as occupational and financial success is achieved.

There are clear factors of push and pull. The capacity of reserves and off-reserve native settlements to support the rapidly growing population is diminishing over time. Only crisis economic planning and rapid injections of sophisticated technology might change this basic fact. But government and business have not given priority to a "re-building" or "supportive" form of economic development -- rather they stress capital-intensive industrialization in novel areas of growth. A healthy culture requires a sound economic base. Whatever the objective reality, many young natives experience feelings of cultural deprivation, even cultural void in the rural setting, and so are pushed to the cities.

The urban areas are generally equated with being economically prosperous. They are viewed as offering more economic opportunities. They "pull" people who are economically depressed and desperate. The mass media penetration into rural native settlements has helped to

create consumer "needs" which can be best satisfied in the urban centres. And finally the native migrating to the city, expects to find more permanent, varied and rewarding employment, more choice of housing, better medical services, access to legal aid, etc. The pushes and pulls of rural and urban settings are being felt by native and non-native alike.

Mark Nagler's *Perspectives on North American Indians* (1972) contains a section on urban Indians where one finds Nagler's own attempt to produce a typology which sensitizes the reader to the wide variety of motivations for, and patterns of native movement to urban areas, as follows:

A. White Collar

B. Blue Collar (committed, regarding their employment as permanent vs. uncommitted)

i) skilled
ii) unskilled

C. Transitionals (committed, those attempting to become permanent residents)

i) students
ii) people seeking employment

D. Urban Users (short-term needs)

i) to buy supplies
ii) to use services of health, rehabilitation counselling, etc.
iii) to seek entertainment

E. Seasonal Workers

F. Vagabonds (true transients)

Some authors (Nagler, 1975; Walsh, 1971) suggest that as natives become aware of the realities of limited economic opportunities for the unskilled

in the cities, the economic urban "pull" factor will be decreased.[4] However, given the *variety* of pushes and pulls, it is unlikely that the movement of natives to urban centers will reverse, stop, or even slow down in the near future (Anderson, 1978).

Urbanization of natives is outpacing the provision of housing units. This situation automatically creates generally increasing levels of competition for residential land use, which lead inevitably to debates over residential integration vs. ghettoization. There are rational arguments to support either alternative; arguments advantaging in some cases the native migrants, and in other cases, the existing urban dwellers. But the difficulties preventing rational planning in this area are numerous. The economic situation of native migrants is an overwhelming control factor. With few exceptions, natives entering cities in search of permanent resident status, are not able to compete for single family homes in the present market. Also the motivation behind a native's search for a place of residence in a city may be related to factors other than financial, such as a wish to suppress or express a native identity, a wish to reside near available and familiar individuals, a wish to avail oneself of specific educational or occupational contexts, a wish to play an active political role in rebuilding native culture, etc..

The present reality is that natives in cities usually reside near each other, in low income areas, in temporary housing and disproportionately on skid row itself, although those who live on skid row do not necessarily express the characteristics of the white people with whom they share the area (Brody, 1971).

E. ASSIMILATION — DIFFERENTIATION OR GENOCIDE?

THE CULTURAL REALITIES OF NATIVES

"The past belongs to minorities . . . the future to the majority!"
(Ravault, 1977)

The above quotation is the title of an article which appeared in 1977 referring mainly to French-English conflicts; but the underlying argument provides a grim backdrop for any discussion of native culture. Ravault (1977) suggests that the very concept of *culture* which is endorsed and supported by government programs for natives ". . . smells strongly of the past and at times, even of death" (Ravault, 1977: 58). Natives are encouraged to practice, but mostly preserve their heritage, ancestral traditions, folk dances, and culinary arts. Money is set aside to gather and house these relics of the past in museums, libraries, and cultural colleges. The focus is on the visible "cultivated" culture, but not on the preservation, even adaptation of aspects of native culture as a vision of the world, as a different perspective which actually allows thought, invention, observation, realization, "progress." In reality, contributions of native culture are seen by the majority as humanizing, spiritual, and even colorful, but definitely peripheral. They are not allowed to play a central role in economics, politics, commerce, science, or technology. Native languages are conceived of as interesting artifacts, to be part of a bilingual native's repertoire so that he can communicate with his grandparents, or to be taught in skeletal form, to white social workers who have to work with native people! Native languages are not seen as instruments through which, once exposed to

them, non-natives may learn different ways of perceiving natural and human reality.

Native-based attempts to change this conception of native culture are prevalent. Their political success is in question, as they fight to overcome a recent history characterized by colonialism, even cultural genocide. The indigenous peoples who signed treaties were subject to much more explicit genocide policies than those who did not. The placing of Indians on reserves was the beginning of a period of totally one-sided control and almost unquestioning subservience. As noted earlier, a healthy culture requires a healthy economy, and Indians have been legally excluded from the context and resources necessary for both of these features.

With increasing emphasis on human and civil rights in North America, it became clear (in the early 60s) to the white majority that the historical precedent of racism must at least appear to be altered. The change was from total control to an idealized version of participatory democracy and equal co-operation.

> "I stress and underline the need for full consultation with the Indians. . . . They, through their own leaders, must be *partners* with us in charting a new approach and new programs." Senior Field Officers Conference, January, 1964, Ottawa (as quoted in Hawthorn, 1966: 26).

This vision likened one group's fight to maintain supremacy and the other group's fight for survival, to a business deal. However, at the time the co-operative contract was ready to be activated, one side was in a state of economic, cultural, political, and social disrepair, even disintegration. Then the senior partner had the audacity to wonder at

what followed: inefficient use of human resources, mishandling of funds, nepotism, internal political strife and a few isolated successes.

This situation stood out even more sharply in northern native communities where the economic ecology was so fragile. By the mid-1940s the native economic base was ruined (Davis and Zannis, 1973: 173), to be replaced by poorly paid, unskilled seasonal work in extractive industries, coupled with large overdoses of government subsidy. On some northern reserves, vestiges of the visible aspects of Indian culture (dances, songs, language, rituals) were being preserved by isolation alone. Metis settlements, mixed with whites as they often were, did not fare as well. But whether Indian or Metis, many native hamlets were, by the 1960s , characterized by disproportionate amounts of bitterness, suspicion, rejection, apathy, suicidal depression, alcoholism, and non-patterned violence (Center for Community Studies, 1963).

The other major contributing factor which systematically undermined the native cultural base was the process of education. It has been well established that, both in residential schools, and in integrated schools, the Indian child experienced denigration of his language and customs, acquired disrespect for his parents and elders, and developed a taste for the inaccessible amenities of a southern white world.

Whether by the name of colonialism, genocide, bureaucratic efficiency, racism, or bad luck, the result has been the same — varying degrees of destruction of culture with forced assimilation on white terms.

One process prevented complete cultural genocide — the politicization of small numbers of Indian and Metis using modified forms of white

political structures. A growing awareness of the historical and legal bases for their condition gave fledgling native organizations data to embarrass the white world on its own terms. Today, throughout the three prairie provinces, native political organizations are vital and are giving high priority to maintenance of the artifacts of traditional culture, and cultivation of a modern native culture.

The dislocation of the more vulnerable aspects of native cultures, the incorporation of fragments of white cultures, and the growth of other alternatives, are also very visible in the urban centers of the prairies. To undergo complete cultural integration requires, beyond economic success,

a) the sharing of opportunities for consumption of normative behavior and ideas;

b) participation in group and community activities;

c) a harmonious relation to the urban environment;

d) interaction which permits the full realization of the individual, without violating the bonds of societal rights (Abramson, 1968: 94).

These standard adjustment problems which all incoming groups face, are seriously compounded by the existence, parallel to one another, of two or more urban cultures to which adjustment can be made. Natives desiring the path of complete assimilation into white culture may succeed in adopting language, dress, folk customs, etc., but only assimilate structurally (into professional groups and primary associations) if they are not impeded by racial visibility. Some fragile but workable accommodating process may occur if the native is occupationally successful,

but does not visibly try to adopt white folkways; choosing instead to retain, both within the urban and rural environments, native-based social activities. Another form of adjustment may be achieved within a predominantly native culture in the city, with individuals seeking both economic and social activity through native-controlled organizations (both Indian and Metis).[5] And finally, some come to urban centers prepared to challenge the urban social ecology to adjust to *them*, an approach which requires a very strong native identity! All these routes may produce some degree of success, but they all require that the native be aware of the cultural alternatives, and their long-term implications, and be prepared to make a choice. Those who cannot make an informed choice are an isolated group — unhappy, frustrated, economically dependent, chronically ill, dispossessed, alienated, and subservient.

F. NATIVES AND JUSTICE — A COMMENT

From the preceding sections, the reader must be aware that the use of the terms natives and justice in the same breath, is, to put it mildly, an anomaly. Representatives of most of society's institutions (economic, political, educational, religious) could not or even would not deny that the native has been treated unjustly within each of their jurisdictions. But wait! Is there one glimmer of pride to counteract white society's history of shame? Could it be the *legal* institution; that honored body of rules and regulations that is above politics, economics, even ideologies? A body which calls itself the criminal

JUSTICE system cannot be all wrong! Do natives receive justice before the law?

Although statistics demonstrate some similarities shared by all natives in trouble with the law, such as types of offence, and seriousness of offence, it is important when pursuing the topic of natives and justice, to be aware that the public perception and social context of the law-breaking native can differ enormously, depending particularly on the urban-rural variable, and we can probably assume that this difference holds generally throughout the prairies.[6]

In small rural settlements, where white and native live together, or in small white towns near reserves, natives have not been totally ignored, but they often have been discounted as irresponsible, child-like, incapable of maintaining any kind of complex relationships, and the responsibility of the government, anyway.

> . . . an examination of back issues of the weekly Jasper* newspaper for its sixty year history revealed that, apart from mentions of Indians in the "Police Court" column, there has been no recognition that an Indian reserve exists near Jasper. Not even editorial notice has been taken of the Indian members of the community (Braroe, 1965: 170). [*Jasper is a pseudonym for a western Saskatchewan town of about 2400 people.]

Braroe (1965) speculates that the lower levels of direct conflict, inter-ethnic violence, and even personal disorganization of natives in the rural areas is due to a long-standing working relationship. The native population is generally refused the privilege of playing white roles, although their identification with white roles is on the upswing. Their worth, therefore, is categorically denied. To salvage some estimation of self in their own eyes and save face, they will sometimes

engage in making a fool of a white person, usually through some form of illegal behavior towards whites.[7] Why is this accepted? Because the "victim" of these behaviors in turn then uses the natives' behavior to defend his own exploitative and segregative image of natives as irresponsible citizens who do not accept or even understand white standards. Illegal behavior in native-white contexts in rural areas is therefore often overlooked and not systematically recorded. Native-native illegal encounters, on the other hand, are often characterized by spontaneous violence born in the general living conditions alluded to earlier, and these are generally formally reacted to by law enforcement personnel, although there is suspicion that they are officially recorded in less serious legal terms than if the encounter had been native-white, or white-white. Rural areas in general allow less strict legal accountability from all points of view.

In contrast, in any large prairie city, one "sees" natives in two zones: in the downtown retail section, and on skid row (Brody, 1971). It is not that natives do not work, play and reside elsewhere — it is just that the skid row definition of "Indian" is the one most white people use to identify natives, and they tend not to notice them if they are not poorly (inadequately) dressed, standing near a bar door, throwing up on the sidewalk, or being hauled away by two police officers.[8] In this period of ombudsmen, and human rights commissions, the public are less overt with their unjust (racist) treatment of natives in relation to jobs, housing, public facilities and so on. But when faced with not only an Indian, but a crooked - Indian
drunken - Indian
no-good - Indian
violent - Indian
belligerent - Indian

there is no need to hold back. The very presence on the city streets of law-breaking natives offends the white population, for these offenders are close and constant reminders of much greater offences committed in the past, for which the white society now considers that it pays dearly through tax-based federal social assistance, to support people who refuse to live like them. In the *cities*, on the Prairies, the native is not seen as an irresponsible child, but as an economic threat. If a native comes to the city, he is perceived as wanting a piece of our pie, thereby shutting out some struggling, hard-working white person. Discrimination in the cities is not paternalism, it is economic racism, based in fear. There is no "working relationship" between whites and natives. And often even in the eyes of some of the urban native population, the native offender is the lowest of the low.

PART II

REVIEW OF THE "LITERATURE"

A. INTRODUCTION

An average review of the literature uses categories such as Books, Published Monographs and Journal Articles, Government Reports, and Unpublished Papers, all containing material directly related to the topic. A review of the literature on "Natives and Justice" really requires categories like Books on Natives in General, Big Documents, Bits and Pieces, and Confidential Working Papers. This is a tongue-in-cheek way of saying that a review of a basically "non-existent" literature requires loose standards of the author, and tolerance and humor from the reader!

B. SELECTED BOOKS ON NATIVE PEOPLE

i) *General Interest:* The conditions of the native population in Canada did not appear to be of any general importance to readers, authors, or publishers (other than a few historians) until the late 1960's, when Cardinal's book *The Unjust Society* (1969) was released. His open "liberal-leftist" attack on government bureaucracy as a tool of cultural genocide was countered by Robertson's *Reservations are for Indians* (1970), a book criticized as ill-founded in fact and perspective, and openly racist. She was somewhat supported, however, when Wuttunee's book *Ruffled Feathers* (1971) argued that Indians can be successful within the white context. His book was also sharply criticized by native people who branded him a sell-out to the white majority. *Indians: The Urban Dilemna* (1972) by Dosman, also aimed at and widely read by the public, documented in a straightforward manner, the problems

faced by natives in Canada's cities. Poverty was the topic of Shumiatcher's *Welfare: Hidden Backlash* (1971), illustrating the economic dependency of natives in the Prairie provinces. In 1973, Maria Campbell published *Halfbreed*, an "exposé" of her own struggles not only to find economic stability, but to find identity and meaning in her life as a Metis woman. And finally, a Harold Cardinal, grown older and expressing some hope in his people's future, wrote the *Rebirth of Canada's Indians* (1977). All of these books received wide publicity: coincidentally none of them propose a radical perspective or radical action, and some of them encouraged strong support and empathy from a discriminatory white population. Two other books which received very little exposure are *The Only Good Indian* (1970) edited by Waubageshig, and *Prison of Grass* (1975) by Howard Adams. The former is a collection of short essays by native people on native issues, with no apologies for its unrepresentativeness, but clear undertones of radical unrest. Adams, on the other hand, is no closet radical. His history of Canada from the native point of view was written to demand revolution.

It could be said that all these books deal with Natives and Justice in the broad sense, but very little is said about natives and the law or natives and crime. The native offender is not considered a worthy topic by even the most radical of native authors. (Native and white offenders may have more in common than they think!)

ii) *Academic:* The reader should also be aware that there is a limited selection of books on natives which have not had as wide a public exposure, but circulate among the backwaters of universities and

native organizations. An early book which has not been widely quoted because of its highly speculative and unverified claims, is Bryde's *Modern Indian Psychology* (revised in 1971). Although the writing style is somewhat paternalistic, the book offers insights which, if verified, could provide a groundwork for better cultural understanding. One of a set of books published under the title *Minority Canadians*, focused on *Native Peoples* (Elliott, 1971) and contained descriptive excerpts about native (Indian and Metis) life. Although entitled *The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500*, Patterson's (1972) book is clearly a social history, and provides insightful analysis of recent political movements among native peoples as well as a thorough bibliography. Historical as well, but aimed at action, is a record of *The Métis: Canada's Forgotten People* (1975) by Sealey and Lussier. A third, well-written historical commentary *The Harrowing of Eden: White Attitudes Toward North American Natives* (Chamberlin, 1975) offers depth and breadth of understanding, but no magical solutions. And finally, Stanbury has provided a quantitatively-oriented study of urban Indians — *Success and Failure: Indians in Urban Society* (1975).

A search through the chapter headings and indexes, even footnotes, in these books, under topics such as law, crime, deviance turns up nothing. With hope fading, the reader finally happens upon two more Prentice-Hall books: *The Indian: Assimilation, Integration or Separation* (Bowles et al. 1972) and *Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts* (Frideres, 1974).[9] The former has an eight page section entitled "Finding Justice" composed of excerpts from government reports, pamphlets, and newspaper accounts, the main aim of which seems to be to

arouse reader empathy. The latter has a discussion of crime and alcoholism in four pages under the title, "Selected Social Problems," a short reference to the role of the R.C.M.P. as central to the political control and subjugation of natives (p. 186), and a two page discussion of social control mechanisms that is relevant in general terms to natives and justice.

C. NON-BOOK DOCUMENTS

i) *Special Studies with Wide Impact:* In 1964, the Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration requested a survey on Canada's Indians. The result, published in 1966, was a major work of two volumes: *The Hawthorn Report: A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada. A Report on Economic, Political, and Educational Needs and Policies.* Rather inadvertently or purposefully it neglected the topic of natives and the law. It did, however, draw attention to the native as historically and presently one of the heaviest users of social services of all kinds in Canada, including both government programs and those controlled by private agencies. Increasing subservience to bureaucratized social services as one of the most striking characteristics of the native population, was at that time well documented.

Indians and the Law (Laing, 1967) was the next major document, one which focused attention squarely on the topic. It included discussions of Probation and Parole, Institutions, and Prevention, and recommended reform in several areas:

- To clarify jurisdictional responsibilities for Indians in trouble with the law;

- To reduce the use of institutionalization for liquor offences and liquor related offences;
- To assess and improve probation and parole services available to natives;
- To encourage the private sector to provide after-care for natives, especially the native private sector.

This report seemed to be the first to openly promote a "natives-for-natives" policy in the area of justice and corrections.

However, it was not until the Law Reform Commission released its study on *The Native Offender and the Law* (Schmeiser, 1974) that we had any unified compilation of data on the numbers of natives in prison, typical native offences, alcohol-related offences, sentencing of natives, and recidivism. The author of the study spoke to one of the dilemmas involved:

> It is unfortunate that the problem has escaped public attention . . . for so long.. . . Part of the explanation seems to be public unawareness of the dimensions of the problem. . . . There are no federal statistics of any value . . . Most provinces do not break down their statistics . . . according to the race of the offender. Individual researchers have not focussed on the national characteristics of the problem (Schmeiser, 1974: ix).

Heralded as a breakthrough, the study, using secondary sources, was limited by available data, and concentrated mainly on information available in the Prairies and most specifically on Saskatchewan. There is no reference in the study to the human meaning and experience involved in being a native offender. But, containing as it does, extensive statistical documentation, it has been widely used as a data base for reform in government legal and correctional programs, and by native organizations to support their independent efforts at evolving

new prevention and correctional services for natives. A rapid perusal of the following general conclusions of the study will make this relationship apparent.

1. A disproportionate number of Native persons in Canada are being convicted of offences and sent to jail. In British Columbia the proportion of admissions of Native offenders to provincial institutions in recent years has ranged from 14% to 21%; in Alberta, from 23% to 34%; in Saskatchewan, from 50% to 60%; and in Manitoba, from 40% to 50%; even though the Native population is approximately 5% in British Columbia and Alberta, and 12½% in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The proportion of Native offenders in the Saskatchewan Penitentiary is approximately 30%.

2. Native women constitute a much greater proportion of the female prison population than do Native men of the male prison population. In Saskatchewan, the figure has been approximately 90%.

3. Native offenders usually are involved in less serious crimes than non-Native offenders. Many are incarcerated for breaches of provincial and municipal statutes, particularly liquor and vehicles legislation.

4. The average length of sentence served by a Native offender is less than that served by a non-Native offender.

5. A large number of Native offenders are sent to jail for non-payment of fines. In 1970-71, 57.4% of all Natives admitted to Saskatchewan jails, constituting 1/3 of all admissions, were admitted for non-payment of fines, and the time spent constituted 18.1% of total days served by Natives.

6. Federal offences committed by Native offenders are more likely to be offences against the person. The more common federal offences committed by Natives are assault, theft, breaking and entering, causing a disturbance, and driving offences involving the use of alcohol. Native offenders rarely are involved in narcotics offences.

7. Natives incarcerated in Saskatchewan Penitentiary are more likely to have a previous record and a longer record than non-Natives, particularly of crimes against the person.

8. Native offenders in both provincial and federal institutions have a higher recidivism rate.

9. Much, if not most, Native crime is associated with the use

of alcohol. The association may be direct, such as in offences of impaired driving, public drunkenness, and causing a disturbance; or it may be indirect, such as assault following drinking, or theft or breaking and entering to obtain alcohol.

10. In areas where there is a substantial Native population, the enactment by many provinces of legislation providing for the detention without charge of intoxicated persons has led to a substantial reduction in the number of convictions of Native persons, but it has led to an increase in the number of detentions, and most of the detainees are in fact Native persons.

11. The Native offender is less likely to receive probation or a pre-sentence report, whether sentenced in a rural or urban area. Facilities are not as available in rural areas, where most Natives live, and the differential in urban areas partly may be explained by the less serious nature of charges against Native persons.

The first conclusion likely gave greater impetus to the development of Indian Special Constable programs, which now are in place in all three prairie provinces, under the auspices of the R.C.M.P. (as well as in other parts of Canada under a variety of structures and jurisdictions). Conclusions related to sentencing, types of crimes, and record (3, 4, 7 and 11) have provided justification for Native Courtworker programs, which also function extensively throughout most areas of the prairies, although under very diverse mechanisms of control and provision of services. Provincial law reform centering on fines, and on the handling of intoxicated offenders, although applicable to everyone, clearly was aimed at injustices to native offenders, pointed out by Conclusions #5, 9, and 10. And finally, the reluctantly-allowed growth of Native Sisterhoods and Native Brotherhoods in correctional institutions throughout the Prairies has likely been supported by reference to Conclusion #8. The study itself does not contain much reference to

"why?" and so its data and conclusions can be and have been freely used to support an ideologically diverse set of thrusts in program development and change.

In response to growing concern over natives and the law, the leaders of federal and provincial governments staged a working confrontation with Indian and Metis leaders, a consultation among top-levels of authority. The working papers that went into, and came out of the Edmonton Conference (entitled National Conference on Native Peoples and the Criminal Justice System 1975) were substantial documents,[10] covering all aspects of the legal and correctional activities of the criminal justice system. The overwhelming conclusions were:

1. that natives in trouble with the law do not have equal access to most of the regular services afforded to other suspects, convicted offenders and ex-inmates;
2. that natives must work with natives in trouble with the law;
3. that native communities must be given the resources to develop services for native offenders, which might (even should) look different from services offered to white offenders.

Several programs controlled by, employing and serving natives which were already in the planning stages, or developed as pilot projects, before the conference, were given political impetus and support. Native Counselling Services in Alberta has expanded to a large province-wide organization, partly as a result of priority being given to native-for-native programs by the Solicitor-General over the period just prior to, and after the 1975 conference. The Federation of Saskatchewan Indians got its experimental Native Probation Worker project

off to a strong start in 1975, providing services to areas normally untouched by provincial probation workers (Starr, 1978). And in Manitoba, the self-policing interests of the six Ojibway reserves received increased publicity and financial support. Federal and Provincial Advisory Committees were set up to oversee progress towards fulfilling the many recommendations reported from the conference.

Not to be outdone, in 1975, at the Annual Conference of the Native Council of Canada, the Metis and non-Status Indian Crime and Justice Commission was formally created, partly to undertake a major national study of the conditions of Metis incarcerated in both federal and provincial institutions. Supported financially by the Department of the Solicitor-General, and the Department of Justice (both Government of Canada), the commission members surveyed native inmates in twenty-six institutions and recorded their findings in a lengthy report entitled Metis and Non-Status Indian -- Crime and Justice Commission (October, 1977). The report has been received critically, both on methodological and ideological grounds by natives and whites alike. But it does attempt to provide some quantitative data on: 1) background factors; 2) migration patterns before incarceration; 3) socio-economic factors; 4) native experiences in the court process; 5) numbers of native inmates; 6) reasons for imprisonment; 7) institutional experience, including native inmate organizations; 8) parole experiences; 9) policing native communities; and 10) a strangely awkward section merely entitled "women". Of course, the report ends with a long series of specific recommendations, and contains fervent pleas for action, rather than research. (For a very abbreviated version of the report see Lane et. al., 1978).

What is striking about these major studies is that there are so few of them and most have been done in the last decade. What is more striking is that when one picks up other major Canadian texts in the area of general Criminology, one seldom finds any reference to natives. In 1976, a revision of *Crime and its Treatment in Canada* (McGrath), a well used reference book on all aspects of the Canadian criminal justice system, was published with no reference in its index to Indians, Metis, or Natives. A new book, *The Canadian Criminal Justice System* (Parizeau and Szabo, 1977) although providing an excellent bibliography of Government Reports, Commissions of Inquiry, federal sources of statistics, academic books and journals, and private agency reports, has *four* sentences on Indian or Metis.

ii) *Journal Articles and Monographs (Bits and Pieces of Direct and Indirect Relevance):* Starting with the articles dealing directly with natives and crime we find it necessary to refer to a very few well-worn published pieces. In 1975, a book on *Crime in Canadian Society* (Silverman and Teevan) contained a section on Selected Research — of which one article was entitled "Arrests, Dispositions, and Recidivism: A Comparison of Indians and Whites" (Bienvenue and Latif, 1974). The data were drawn from Winnipeg City Police statistics of 1969, and included comparisons for offence, sentencing, and recidivism. Problems pertinent to research on natives were briefly outlined. The findings confirmed the over-involvement of male and especially female natives in criminal offences, especially offences involving liquor, and their under-involvement in offences related to the Food and Drug, or Narcotics

Control Acts. Natives received "lighter" sentences than whites,but were disproportionately in the recidivist category. The authors left the reader with research priorities as follows:

- a need for a more thorough description of the process of recidivism;
- a need to describe the actual relationships between social class, severity of crime, counsel, plea, recidivism, and the attitudes of magistrates, and the racial variable;
- a need for an in-depth look at the native *female* offender.

In a series of publications, Hagan cautions us against assuming that the literature demonstrating discrimination against Blacks in the American legal system can be applied directly to the Canadian system (Hagan, 1974b, 1975). He demonstrated (Hagan, 1974c), using Alberta data, that there was no direct link between race and alteration of the charge, nor between race and retaining defence counsel or the initial plea. He concluded that native offenders benefit from the negotiation process as do white offenders. In other publications he has drawn attention to the disproportionate number of incarcerated natives and their problems (Hagan, 1974a, 1976).

An article by Wynne and Hartnagel entitled "Race and Plea Negotiation: An Analysis of Some Canadian Data" (1975) attempted to link the variable of race to the utilization of plea bargaining by offenders, i.e. Did plea negotiations occur or not? The data was from Edmonton courts. They concluded that race is an intervening variable in determining access of an offender to plea bargaining, and its effect is modified by variables such as previous arrest record, repetitious counts, seriousness of offence and presence of defence counsel. They suggest

further that research into the impact of specific offence categories, the quality of the representation by counsel, the comparative level of knowledge concerning the processes within the court system, would throw more light on the factor of race and criminal justice processing.

Very brief reference to the relationship between success in probation programs and race is made in "Probation Effectiveness in Alberta" (Cockerill, 1975). It was found that success during probation was related to being employed, being educated and being married, while success after completing probation was related to being white. Less than fifty percent of Indian and Metis probationers can be expected not to become recidivists, even after successful completion of a probationary period.

The "Problems of Native Offenders in the Correctional System" (Badcock, 1976) promised much, but actually delivered only four pages summarizing problems and recommendations which were brought out in great detail at the 1975 Conference referred to earlier. The body of the article is followed, however, by five pages of helpful annotated bibliography, referring to journal articles, project reports, government documents, task-force reports, and a list of briefs presented at the 1975 Conference.

In the July 1977 edition of the *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections* although there are several typical articles on program planning and evaluation for corrections, only one (Shady and Kuc, 1977) controls for the impact of racial origin. It was found that in a program providing social skills orientation, that racial origin is the most significant prediction of course completion. Indians and Metis

composed 62% of the "Quitters" (Shady and Kuc, 1977: 306). Finally, a brief description of the problems of incarcerated Indians, and recommendations for reform, are provided in Keller's "Prison Reform and Indians" (1976) in The Indian Historian.

A variety of native-related unpublished statements, monographs, and proceedings must surely exist, similar to McCaskill's (1970) description of "Needs and Resources Related to Native Offenders in Manitoba," a study of arrests in Winnipeg by Dubienski and Skelly (1970), Carter's M.A. Thesis on "The Policing of the Reserve Indian" (Carter, 1976), the "Proceedings of a Seminar on Aftercare Services" by Black (1976) supported by the Native Clan Organization in Winnipeg, and Watkins's critical assessment of "Criminal Justice Programs for Natives: The Saskatchewan Case" (1978). But these have not been gathered in a central location from which they can be easily retrieved.

In terms of basic research, the topic of natives and the law is sorely under-represented.

No attempt will be made here to review all the articles which have indirect relevance to natives and justice, as that would entail a survey of literature on minority groups, on criminology, and on the law. A few examples will demonstrate, however, that the literature is abundant with related data and sensitizing concepts that could form the basis for sound research.

In most cases, the articles chosen relate in some way to the relationships between the impact of modernization, the development of crises or disintegration in a community at the social and personal level, and the provision of preventative, support and rehabilitative services,

within the context of native-white relations. First, in a chapter entitled "Coercion and Change," Cartens (1971) draws parallels between the status of Canadian Indians and that of the Blacks of South Africa. In doing so, he calls attention to the stultifying ideology of the D.I.A.N.D. bureaucracy, to the "notorious paucity" of detailed anthropological and sociological studies of Canadian Indian Communities, to the process of "administrative determinism" in creating Indian lifestyles, to the fact that responsibilities assumed for Indians by the federal government under the Indian Act are far greater than required by the B.N.A. Act, to the increasing conflict characterizing interpersonal relations in reserves (due to the dual life situation and the shortage of land), and to the role of the R.C.M.P. as living symbols of the government's rights of authority. In the same book, an article on the "Emerging Northern Mosaic" by Vallee (1971) suggests that in programs for natives, Canadian ideals of pluralism and participatory democracy have been put to the test, and have lost. Even in programs where natives wield extensive control the goal of most programs is *cultural replacement*. For example, health programs are aimed at changing food practices, body care, housing, and definitions of mental illness. Justice programs are even more explicit in their attempts to persuade Indians not only to be *aware* of the white justice system, but to have *faith* in it, and to *abide* by its rules.

Although a study on "Native Youth in Edmonton" (Siperko, 1971) did not focus on youth and crime, it provided an extensive description of their socio-demographic variables, and undertook some analysis of feasibility, acceptance, and perceived adequacy of service agencies and

programs. The findings surprisingly showed no real difference in these factors, with both native and non-native youth defining various service programs as inadequate. The point is made, however, that although the perceived inadequacy (unsuitability) of programs is not unique to native youth, the situation is more crucial to them individually since: a) they are disproportionately the heavier users or clients of the programs, b) the need to avail themselves of various service programs flies in the face of their individual struggles for independence (which are stronger than for whites), and c) because a direct relationship is found between the perceived inadequacy of agency resources and their unhappiness.

Fisher (1976) has described the provision of services to natives in a nasty light:

> The Indian community begins and ends with the contradiction between a relatively unstratified low status "caste" of Indian status persons who are tied to a piece of land by treaty or administrative edict, and a segmentary elite "caste" of policemen, traders, missionaries, and administrators whose goals and actions are controlled by the distant head office of the bureaucratic line organizations they serve. This contradiction creates a distortion in human relations; all intergroup relationships become client-patron relationships...."Con jobs" and "flim-flam," attitudes of superiority, beliefs about inferiority and "caste" stratification, gossip, jealousy, scorn and antipathy, etc., combine with the necessity to perserve one's welfare and the realities of power or authority. (Fisher, 1976)

In an article on mental health among Eskimo communities, Vallee (1972) takes a critical stance towards the assumption made about the proposed use of natives as mental health workers in government-controlled

programs.

> One recommendation of special relevance pertains to training native persons as community health workers, but apparently their role is still perceived . . . in terms of passing messages between the white professional people and the native people: they are regarded primarily as interpreters. (Vallee, 1972).

Clearly, the native workers in any "justice" program can play the role of a "pawn" — to translate words, not ideas and perspectives, to increase the trust of other natives in the white service structure, and to insure that natives utilize services provided by the white bureaucracy. Or the native worker could play the role of interpreter as change agent — to, over time, modify white structures and programs to suit the needs of any particular native community or client group; to encourage the phasing out of the white service and its replacement by a program which has developed from the client group itself (not from a political representative of the client group), and to interpret, to the white world, the general meaning systems of the native community, if they are different.[11] Although originating in the field of mental health, Vallee's discussion is vitally relevant to existing and planned criminal justice programs in the prairies based on the natives-for-natives philosophy.

The relationship between community change, and disintegration (deviance) is illustrated in Honigmann's portrayal of "Social Disintegration in Five Northern Canadian Communities" (1965). His description of a disintegrating community surely fits a community that any government would presently define as in need of justice services:

- Large number of homes where one or both parents are

frequently absent or changed;

- Large number of homes in which relations between members are chronically hostile or unstable;
- Few or no associations centering around work, religion, or other common interests;
- Non-existent or dictatorial leadership;
- Short-lived patterns of recreation (usually drinking and sexual promiscuity);
- Frequent hostility towards in-group and out-group members;
- Laws frequently violated with impunity;
- Negative and resentful attitude towards authority, particularly authority representing the larger society;
- Pervasive and incapacitating personal anxiety; and
- Cultural confusion (especially between generations).

The point of his paper is not to draw a causal link between disintegration and other variables, but to point out forcefully through comparative description, that not all northern communities faced with rapid social change, the influx of white settlers, the impact of the Southern media, and the reduction through transportation technology of geographic and technological isolation, need to disintegrate, nor show the same characteristics of disintegration. His five northern communities revealed no regular, direct or simple relationship between modernization or white colonialism and disintegration: some maintained a considerable degree of order and local control over the impact of change, and they all differed extensively in terms of the meaning of the symptoms of disintegration within the community itself.

A basic concept in the study of ethnic relations and immigration, and therefore also central to the rational development of both prevention

and after-care programs for natives in trouble with the law, is that of *institutional completeness*. Breton (1964) stresses that in understanding stable adjustment vs. maladjustment of an ethnic group (or individual) faced with a new life setting, concern must be shown for the structure of the new "life setting." For example some natives who migrate to cities merge totally into white institutions, others merge into the white economy, but retain friendship networks within the urban native community. In some urban areas on the prairies, part of the native population appears to be striving for institutional completeness, a condition whereby

> . . . the (native) community could perform all the services required by its members. Members would never have to make use of (white) institutions for the satisfaction of any of their needs, such as education, work, food, clothing, medical care, or social assistance. (Breton, 1964).

Institutional completeness could be seen by natives as a method of obtaining independence and self-control, and preserving native culture. On the other hand, it may be equally supported by whites because one of its major effects is *segregation*. For example, a program specifically provided to help natives through the criminal justice system, whether run by whites exclusively for natives, or better yet, run by natives, effectively acts to integrate natives more strongly into an inter-personal network of their *own* group, producing increased native cohesion, but also increased native segregation from whites. Breton (1964) pinpoints four underlying processes:

a) *substitution* - active involvement in native institutions (religious, occupational, political, recreational, professional, national, social assistance, legal, media, educational) literally prevents native contacts with the

white community. The general mobility potential of the native is reduced particularly where identity with native organizations is negatively evaluated by the white community.

b) *extension* - natives who function within native organizations tend to value their native identity, and usually involve themselves in "recruitment" of other natives not yet centrally involved in native institutions.

c) *cohesion around issues* - the very existence of some degree of formal organization and subsequent cohesiveness leads to the native group reacting both to outside issues (threats) and to issues central to the group itself, as an ethnic entity. Even internal debates tend eventually to increase both the cohesion and segregation of the group, as they draw attention both to the ethnic variable, and to the inability of non-members of the group to provide solutions (i.e. highlights the irrelevance of white society).

d) *active maintenance or enlargement of clientele* - leaders always have some interest (to varying degrees) in the survival of the organization. The formation and maintenance of native organizations at the moment is easier because large numbers of natives have few resources, and literally require direct support services and mutual benefit structures. This condition may have motivated "social entrepreneurs" within the native population to organize services, gaining for themselves monetary rewards, status in the community, political power, even a place in history. When the situation of low resources changes as it likely will, native leaders may be faced with finding other mechanisms to strengthen ethnic identity in order to maintain institutional completeness. (One may view the increasingly forceful stance maintained by Indian leaders in relation to such issues as abandonment of the Indian Act, land claims legislation, and political sovereignty, in this light.)

The implications of institutional completeness are clear for the individual native's struggle to achieve, or aversion to, a native identity and a positive self-concept. The traditional criminological literature suggested that involvement in crime leads to "spoiled"[12] identity, and this seems true for many whites. But indications are that this may not be true for ethnic minorities. The implications of an article on deviance and identity by Harris (1976) are that in the total

context of caste, racial conflict, discrimination and the search for identity through institutional completeness, some natives (youth in particular) may increasingly show a positive relation between higher levels of criminal commitment and higher levels of psychological well-being (i.e., less spoilation). An article by Denton (1975) on impression management by natives maintained that within a mixed community natives develop various strategies to personally manage the fact that being seen as Indian is a discrediting stigma. Suppression of native identity is not a necessary strategy where there is some degree of institutional completeness. Instead, natives, especially youthful males, may play one of several roles: the "noble savage," "the professional" Indian, the aggressive "warrior," the "marginal man" and so on. And several of these roles may justify criminal involvement in different ways. And finally, the issues of identity, institutional completeness, and justice are relevant within the correctional setting. Reasons[13] (currently at the University of Calgary, Sociology) has written several pieces on the topic of Indians and crime in the U.S. One article in particular (Reasons, 1974) wrestles with the debate over the need for and the rights of natives to develop within prisons, separate structures and programs. The development of institutional programs and policies especially for native inmates has been seen as a method of combatting institutional racism,[14] and while institutional completeness for natives on the outside is given priority, special conditions for native inmates cannot be denied. But the issues referred to earlier surrounding the general implications of institutional completeness should make us study more thoroughly, the long-term effects of native organizations within

corrections. Although they may serve as rehabilitative vehicles for a few native individuals searching for a source of self-esteem, they also serve the institution by maintaining order, and they serve the white community by providing *native-supported* structures and policies of segregation.

Articles such as the above make it abundantly clear that the straightforward recommendation that natives work with natives in provision of justice services is barely the "tip of the iceberg" of our knowledge and understanding.

At the present time, the literature is not a rich source of data, but it is a rich source of perspectives and frames of reference, something which many programs and government reports seem sorely to lack.

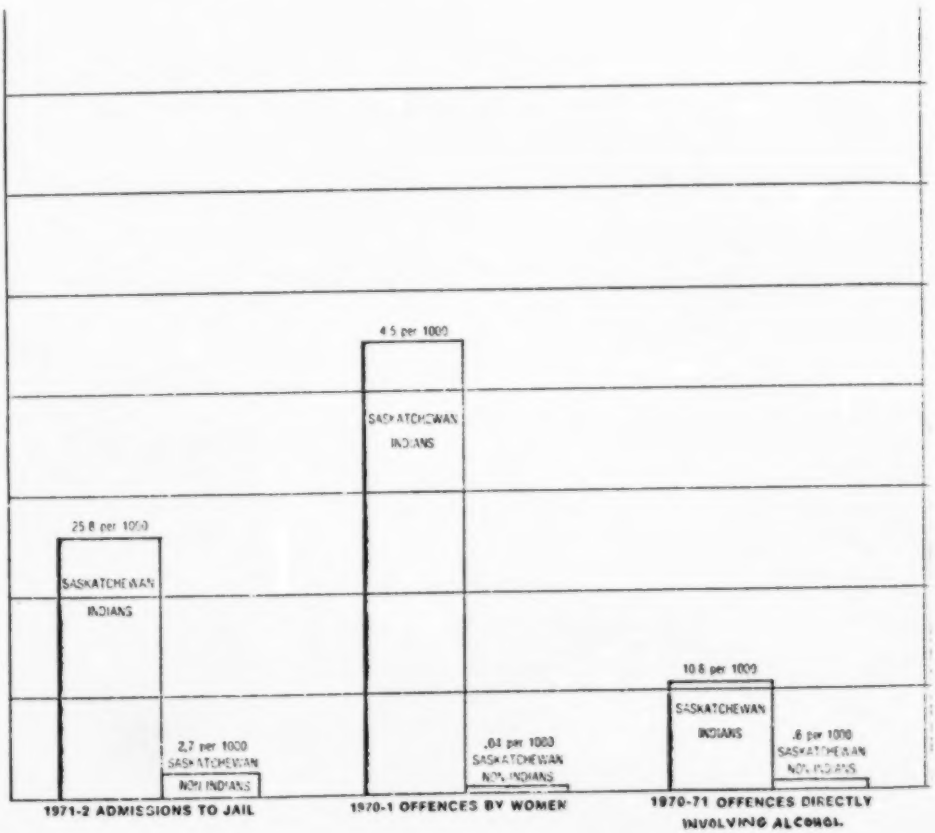
iii) *Government Documents, Program Reports, and the Media:* Suffice it to say here that there is a lot of information kept in confidence: some purposefully, and some clearly because efficient channels of circulation do not exist.

The Government of Canada has several bodies producing papers on native studies. Besides D.I.A.N.D.,[15] the Solicitor-General has a research division, and a consultation division, both of which should be able to provide up-to-date bibliographies on research on natives and particularly on programs dealing with crime prevention and after-the-fact services for natives.[16] The Federal Advisory Council on Native Peoples, the Solicitor-General's committee on Natives and the Law, and the Native Policing Branch of the R.C.M.P. are examples of bodies which

could be doing more to insure that in-house data becomes available to the research and action community.

At the Provincial government level, the relevant departments all likely possess various working papers and progress reports relating to government funded programs for natives. For example, from Alberta, there is the Kirby Report (1978), an analysis of natives in provincial courts. In Saskatchewan, which has been widely touted for its explicit concern for natives in the criminal justice system, an annual report from the Minister of Social Services provides basic statistics on natives in corrections, including incarceration levels, and types of sentencing. Also, any new programs in corrections are generally documented for public perusal, although the distribution system for the reports seems to concentrate more on policy makers and program directors, than on researchers, private agencies, or the public at large (unless the program has some potential political meaning). An example of this is the Review Committee report on the *Fine-Option Program*, 1977, (Government of Saskatchewan), a program which affects native offenders much more than whites. The government's awareness of this is demonstrated by the type of material handed out to offenders. It is bilingual, Cree and English, and shows a native-looking offender (see Appendix). A third example is a report on the "Volunteer Probation Officer Program in Northern Manitoba" by James, Sloan, and Perry (1977), out of the Manitoba Ministry of Corrective and Rehabilitative Services. All three reports make recommendations for action and research. A fourth example is a report expected to emanate shortly from the Women's Division, Department of Labor (Saskatchewan) on native women and

Comparison of Saskatchewan Registered Indians
with Non-Indians of the Province



SOURCE: Department of Social Services, Saskatchewan,
Crime and Corrections Statistics.

employment in Regina. However, it is probably fair to assume that many in-house research documents containing a wealth of data on natives, are not circulated to non-government personnel. For example, in 1976, a twenty-page data sheet on Saskatchewan natives was drafted by a free lance researcher for purposes of discussion. It outlined, rather bluntly, and with little context, the plight of natives in Saskatchewan. Leaked to several non-government people, it created some political disturbance. This would not happen if government secrecy did not make such working papers appear to be more important than they are, or if non-government people could react to these documents to insure that everyone's viewpoints were validly represented.

Native organizations on the prairies act in the same way with reports they have contracted for the purpose of evaluating their own programs. The following bodies represent the formal political and semi-political structures of prairie natives.

1. Manitoba

   Native Clan Organization
   Manitoba Indian Brotherhood
   Metis Women's Association
   Manitoba Metis Federation
   Native Women's Association of Manitoba

2. Saskatchewan

   Federation of Saskatchewan Indians
   Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan
   Saskatchewan Native Women's Association
   Saskatchewan Indian Women's Association

3. Alberta

   Indian Association of Alberta
   Federation of Metis Settlements
   Voice of Alberta Native Women's Association
   Metis Association of Alberta

4. Friendship Centres

Alberta Association of Friendship Centres
Saskatchewan Association of Indian and Metis Friendship Centres
Manitoba Association of Friendship Centres Inc.

5. National

Native Council of Canada
Allied Indian and Metis Society
National Indian Brotherhood
Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples

Among them, they are directly or indirectly involved in programs for natives in the areas of housing, community development, economic development, education, policing, the courts and corrections. Some publicity is given to ongoing programs by short discussions in Native publications such as *The Saskatchewan Indian* and *The New Breed* in Saskatchewan, *Native People* in Alberta or the *Native Perspectives*, and the *Bulletin* of the Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples, on a national level. Some actual reports are made public; for example, a report on the Indian Probation Project in Saskatchewan presented at a Criminology Congress in Calgary in 1977, and an evaluation of the goals and objectives of the Indian Probation Worker Project by Heinemann, the project being under the auspices of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians. A report entitled "Homes for our People" was produced and released in 1970 by the then Metis Society of Saskatchewan.

Various programs are being run also by Indian and Metis Friendship Centres throughout the prairies, by Native Women's Centres,[17] by community arms of native inmate groups, by individual reserves, by native run private agencies (such as Native Counselling Service in Alberta), and by combinations of native and white organizations through

co-operative ventures.[18]

In other words, there is a flurry of activity, but very little accumulation of knowledge, or in-depth stock-taking of impact. Not only is there a scarcity of information passing from government outwards, or across provincial boundaries, or from native organizations to non-natives, but there seems to be little sharing amongst natives themselves. And to put it bluntly, most of the information anyway is skeletal and without any general perspective.

D. SPECIAL SOURCES

All three of the prairie provinces have special programs of Native Studies. The University of Lethbridge, under the direction of Leroy Little Bear, houses an independent Department of Native Studies, whose major aim is to study natives from "the native perspective." At the University of Regina, the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians has initiated the fledgling Federated Indian College, which hopes to graduate students with degrees in Indian Studies. Its program is more outreach than on-campus at the moment. The Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan is presently attempting to establish Dumont College at the University of Regina and a special interdisciplinary program of native studies at the University of Saskatchewan. The University of Saskatchewan, College of Education, also has an Indian Teacher Education Program, and the Indian Cultural College in Saskatoon has been active in an Indian Social Worker Program. The University of Brandon has a Department of Native Studies. These centers are and will

be in the future prime sources, not only of data, but of research expertise. The Boreal Institute of Northern Studies at the University of Alberta, the Glenbow Foundation (Institute) of Calgary, and the Institute for Northern Studies at the University of Saskatchewan house both information and resource personnel directly and indirectly related to the topic area. And finally, provincial groups affiliated with the Canadian Federation of Civil Liberties and Human Rights Associations (Alberta Human Rights and Civil Liberties Association, and the Saskatchewan Association on Human Rights) have begun to sponsor conferences on natives, and document cases of conflict between natives and the criminal justice system.

It may seem a glaring oversight that in a paper entitled "Natives and Justice" no mention has yet been made of the literature on land claims. Native cultures are not dead, but they are not flourishing either. Many natives see as a required background context for any further planning for, with or by natives, a settlement of their treaty or aboriginal claims to land. Mr. Justice Berger sees the settlement of land claims as the necessary means to the establishment of a social contract based on a clear understanding that natives are a distinct people in history. The object of the settlement as seen by natives, is the clear entrenchment, not extinction, of native rights. Settlement of land claims is expected by natives to bring not only social and economic advancement, but the provision of a base from which to develop a sense of collective pride and initiative. The problem of land claims was raised as early as 1917, and today there are growing numbers of natives and whites involved in the demand that settled land claims be the basis

for all future planning.

An awareness of the implications of land claims is missing in most planning concerning natives and the law. The study of treaty rights, aboriginal rights, and land claims requires specialized legal-political expertise. The Native Law Centre, located in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, under the present direction of Roger Carter,[19] is the only centre of its kind in Canada. Besides promoting law as a career for natives, and being involved in legal education for natives, the Centre focuses heavily on the area of Treaty Rights and Land Claims. It is an information resource which must be tapped for its contribution in drawing the total picture.

A final "Special Resource" is research, publication, and planning occurring outside the prairie provinces. The Canadian Association in Support of Native Peoples (a white-run organization) has for years run an information service, maintained a library, and published information pamphlets on selected topics. And of the other provinces, both the governments of British Columbia and Ontario have shown initiative in terms of special programs for natives in the criminal justice system. Often much can be learned through awareness of how similar programs can be applied to different problems and vice versa.

PART III

RESEARCH OR "THE STATE-OF-THE-ART"

A. ISSUES IN RESEARCH ON NATIVES AND JUSTICE

i) *Cross Cultural Concerns:* We must now seriously confront the true meaning of the phrase "state-of-the-art". The term "art" is rather well-chosen here, for when delving into cross-cultural research, one soon discovers that creativity plays a central role in good research.

Faced with the topic of "Natives and Justice", a researcher immediately sees a *multiplicity* of conditions, and an *indeterminancy* about the effect of any one condition or several conditions in combination, on the ways in which natives interact with the law. The first inclination is to search for a way to *control* suspected sources of variation by reducing the number of conditions, isolating them from each other, and making the role of each, or in combination, precise. This is the standard scientific attack.

But in social research, since it is impossible to achieve total control and manipulation, we claim to have methods which will bring us as close as possible to the ideal. The first of these methods is statistical manipulation; or as researchers phrase it, we "massage the data, lying as we see fit."[20] If we are not able to proceed through that technique, we control sources of variation through making simplified assumptions such as:

ceteris paribus - other things being equal;

human rationality - when confronted with choice, cost and benefit will be considered, and humans will act to maximize their position.

But cross-cultural research forces a re-evaluation of these processes. The normal tools often will not produce data that make sense to the

people being studied.

Comparative or cross-cultural research is the study of different social phenomena, but in consistent terms, and the dilemma of the researcher focuses on finding conceptual tools that can transcend cultural boundaries, on finding a framework and concepts that can "ASSESS UNIQUENESS IN GENERAL TERMS." If a universalistic approach is taken assuming that there are functions and processes common to all people, the shock comes with the realization that no human structure or process is unifunctional, and no human function necessitates a particular structure. The relativistic approach,defining the phenomenon in whatever way the particular culture chooses to define it, can result in a total loss of any grasp on general levels of comparability.

> The comparative investigator must be regarded as fighting a continuous struggle between the culture-boundedness of system-specific categories, and the contentlessness of system-inclusive categories. Many of the issues, problems and controversies of comparative analysis may be understood as emanating from different efforts to resolve this double-tension. (Smelser, 1976: 178).

It is well known that data are a function of the researchers' selection of sample, their conceptual dimensions, their expression (verbal or written) of their ideas and questions, and their definitions of valid methods (validity,reliability, control, etc.). Fortunately the research operation is an observable phenomenon, and it is open to assessment by means of the same sorts of methods that are applicable to the analysis of the research topic itself.

In studying natives and justice, we should set aside as much time

to systematically assess the research process itself, as we set aside to study the actual topic. White and native researchers must not only share expertise, but they must agree on what bases they will willingly acknowledge it (expertise) in each other. Both groups must be aware of what Moore (1973) calls the "omniscience dilemma." The white researcher claims that his tools and concepts are exhaustive of all social realities, and therefore academically respectable. All that is required is that he "go native" for a while in order to make minute modifications to his research repertoire. He is criticized on grounds of cultural invalidity. The native researcher claims cultural validity for his research methods. He "sees and understands" through the eyes of his subjects. He in turn is criticized for lack of academic respectability. Clearly the "twain must meet," but neither must dominate.

ii) *Specific Research Dilemmas:* There are probably no research dilemmas encountered in doing research on natives that one would not encounter in undertaking research on non-native people. What may be different are the solutions. There is certainly no plethora of books and articles on solutions, but we can delimit some of the more central problems here, as guides to further discussion. (For an excellent discussion of cross-cultural research problems, see Warwick, 1973.)

a. Overcoming resistance to data collection. Resistance to research from the level of political leaders, community elite, or program supervisors, and resistance on the part of the actual population being studied, are very different hurdles. The researcher

may be able to use one to persuade the other, or there may be a need to keep them very distinct. In the past, the basis for persuasion was money, or the obvious prestige or power of the researcher. The "aura of expertise" prevailed. Today, what is thought to overcome resistance is a stated "commitment to local involvement," a process whereby the researcher makes it appear that the subjects are assessing the validity of the project. Cunningham's (1979) observations may be summarized as follows:

> Resistance may be overcome or minimized if all or most of the following factors are present:
>
> 1. The membership of the organization feels that the project serves its needs and interests, and the information that the research will provide is useful to it.
> 2. The project has the whole-hearted support of top officials in the organization or community.
> 3. The subjects see the research effort as reducing, rather than increasing, their present burdens.
> 4. They feel that their autonomy and their security are not threatened.
> 5. Efforts are made to confront rather than to ignore the resistance to the researcher.
> 6. No effort is made to identify the individuals through their feelings in either interviews or questionnaires.
> 7. Members in the organization or community help to distribute the research instruments themselves rather than have just an outside researcher doing it.
> 8. The project and the instruments used indicate that they were drawn from the needs and values of the subjects.
> 9. Subjects are aware of each other's participation, and experience acceptance, support, trust and confidence in their relations with one another.
> 10. If it is recognized that research projects and instruments are likely to be misunderstood and misinterpreted provision is made for feedback or perceptions,

and corresponding adjustment in the research project is made.

Most of these principles can be too easily taken-for-granted. They are based on an academic's vision of the subject community. They are also biased towards one-shot evaluative research, not long-term basic data gathering. They are methods (to use a classic criminological phrase) of "cooling out the mark." Just one example: it may be very unrealistic to expect that all research is going to decrease burdens, or leave unthreatened, autonomy and security. It may produce very artificial data if research is pursued only in communities, organizations or programs which can be "set up" to welcome the research project. The point here is not to undermine basic entry techniques, but to suggest that they too, must be open to question, and flexible for different research issues and settings.

b. Maximizing the use of research results. Maximizing use of research is used here in its broadest sense, including everything from increasing our knowledge of the world around us, to helping to decide if a program needs three more workers. Many decisions about use, must be made.

If research is to become a basis for intervention, the questions of to what extent, by whom, under whose control, etc., must be answered. Then processes must be delineated to apply research directly to program or organizational development. And methods must be found both to carry out, and use the research in such a way that the wider context is taken into account. If I may use an analogy from medical research — research can be used to perform autopsies on dying programs, or to dissect

"isolated organ preparations," i.e. behavior torn from its support system and meaning context. Or research can be carried out and applied "in vivo," within the wider context of the behavior in question. This latter approach implies participation, on the basis of full awareness, of the subject community in the use of data. In extreme form, "in vivo" research may imply total control by the subjects over the data, to use or to bury, as they see fit.

To maximize the spread of information may require a more formally structured research network throughout the prairies, with every group, organization, program, private consultant, etc., designating as a "research contact" a person who does or is planning to do research on natives and justice. Frequent group discussions are important, as a summary of points raised by Cunninghman (1979) indicates:

a) Findings can be examined in a broader light because the group's experiences are richer and more varied than that of any one individual. The research data stimulates discussion, which tends to bring to light the information each individual has about a specific part of the problem.

b) They provide the format in which people with varying degrees of expertise discuss possible solutions and thus give each other new and improved ways of not only viewing, but also solving their research-related problems.

c) The discussion of the research data by groups compels all members of the group to recognize openly the existence of problems revealed by the data. Important and serious problems which have long been bothersome can be brought to light in a positive and constructive atmosphere.

B. PRIORITIES

The question of what to emphasize in terms of actual research topics is always difficult in an area which is as yet, virgin ground.

But it seems clear enough from the general literature on natives that we must give priority to a more holistic approach; one which focuses on the native microcosm - the meaning system of day-to-day living; one which takes a more ethnographical approach and focuses on context. The only thing we know for sure about how today's natives differ from non-natives, is that some of them have visibly darker skin, and their ancestors got here before any others arrived. Many traditionally-assumed differences may no longer be valid. Major in-depth research projects should be undertaken over at least five-year time spans, on at least the following topics:

1. Legal Socialization (urban and rural);
2. The Urban Experience;
3. Modern Native-Native Relationships (old-young, male-female, rich-poor, etc.);
4. The Relationship Between Alcohol Use and Crime (for natives and for non-natives);
5. A Comparative Study of the Meaning of Social Control in Native and Non-Native Groups (the distance between controller and controlled, the perceived authoritativeness of law, the degree of homogeneity amongst enforcers of the law, the degree to which an alternative life-style, i.e. law-breaking, is available, etc.).

In other words, what we so simplistically call basic research, must receive high priority.

On the other hand, life goes on, and governments and native organizations themselves must respond to emergency demands. Programs will continue to evolve, and in relation to existing and future programs, some specific research priorities can be proposed, with a strong emphasis on comparative research.

- A survey and analysis of the objectives of different kinds of natives-for-natives programs (i.e., are they for the purpose of ensuring access to services, to support a cultural identity, to better control restless natives, etc.).

- A comparative study of whites and natives who have problems in gaining access to "justice" (in its broadest sense), looking at both shared and unique problems, and delineating the parts of the present system where inequality of justice exists (discrimination in police handling,access to legal advice, coaching in the courtroom, classification discrepancies, access to parole, etc.).

- A comparison, over a 2 to 3 year period, of a native community which has a native Justice of the Peace, a Special Indian constable, a native probation worker, etc., and a matched native community without access to special native programs.

- A long-term study of the indirect effects of a natives-for-natives program, i.e. on the level of legal knowledge in the community, on the level of community responsibility in the criminal justice system, on attitudinal change towards the law and other parts of the system, etc.

- A comparative analysis of various characteristics of a native program and a matched white program, such as: What are the guidelines of quality control, where do they arise, and how are they supervised? — What are the expectations for "success" and how do they arise? — What is the degree of co-ordination between the program, and other similar or dissimilar programs, for what purpose, and to what effect, etc.

- The establishment of a Prairie Progress Report, using the recommendations of the 1975 Edmonton conference as a base.

Finally, it must be forcefully noted that there is a void, a gap, a chasm, in our knowledge of *native children and youth* in trouble with the law, and *female* offenders. It goes without saying that any research on these two groups should be given priority.

C. THE HUMAN JUSTICE RESEARCH CONSORTIUM

There are several options available to a group wishing to set

themselves up as researchers, or controllers of research activity and output. Here advice cannot be given, but alternatives can be specified, as they relate to natives and justice in the prairies.

1. Centralized data base - The goal here would be to be the centre of a communication network of researchers by accumulating and disseminating all available knowledge, and undertaking and promoting basic research.

2. Long-term policy and planning consultation - The emphasis here would be on the development of reliable research skills (methods) in cross-cultural research, with an emphasis on the wider context of justice planning in the prairies.

3. Public and professional education - The development of a wide variety of forms and levels of information would help to fulfill this function - audio, visual, written, etc. The organization of workshops, seminars, and conferences, both for professionals and the public, would be central, as would some co-operative effort with presently flourishing native publications.

4. Program facilitation - The development of a variety of evaluation methodologies would be appropriate here, with an emphasis on comparative studies of methods of presentation of services.

5. "Think Tank" function - Here the goal is to create new social structures and processes, and to evolve new perspectives on old topics.

The role of the Consortium will be restricted by how researchers on the prairies view it, but, there is a wide variety of functions it might at least try.

D. CONCLUSION

Researchers on "Natives and Justice" should not be embarrassed to admit that their research is political. After all, it must deal with different perspectives of reality, all of which are fighting for

supremacy. In order for the best to emerge, though, all must have a chance, which at this point demands not only holistic research, cross-disciplinary collaboration, and input from native and non-native researchers who have been in communication with each other, but exploratory research that clarifies rather than applied research which directs.

We must keep in mind, however, that research on society's deviance never gets top priority, as McGrath (1976: 568) notes:

> In spite of the phenomenal progress achieved during the last decade we have by no means reached a point in Canada as yet at which interest in and support of research into crime and its treatment come even close to that in other areas of human concern such as health, not to mention economics, agriculture, and industrial production. The Ouimet Committee recommends that a modest two per cent of the total law enforcement, judicial, and correctional budget be allocated to research. Even this modest percentage would yield more funds than research can use. The Committee's recommendation that a Canadian Criminological Research Council be set up under independent auspices has not yet materialized. Encouragement and support of research will in itself be a measure of the extent to which a society is willing to look at itself critically,
> . . . .

The individual who is both native and an offender, is presently in double-jeopardy, and it is likely that his whole story will never be told.

APPENDIXES

A. The Canadian Indian Act (summary of topics) p. 116

B. Categorization of Native Peoples p. 117

C. Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations of Indian Bands in the Three Prairie Provinces. p. 119

D. Metis Population Dispersion in Canada p. 128

E. Statement of the Indian Philosophy of Education p. 129

F. Excerpts from the "Fine-Option Program" Information Pamphlet. p. 131

G. Economic Statistics (1971), Saskatchewan. Welfare Dependency and Average Wage - Registered Non-Urban Indians and others. p. 132

Appendix A

THE CANADIAN INDIAN ACT

(summary of topics)

The Indian Act is 55 pages long, contains 124 sections, with 23 general topics. These may be listed as follows:

1. Definitions, interpretations and registrations of Indians (Sec. 2-17).
2. Reserves and possession of lands in reserves (Sec. 18-29).
3. Trespass on Reserves (Sec. 30-31).
4. Sale or barter of produce (Sec. 30-31).
5. Roads and bridges (Sec. 34).
6. Lands taken for public purposes (Sec. 35).
7. Special reserves and surrenders (Sec. 36-41).
8. Estates and wills of Indians (Sec. 42-52).
9. Management of reserves and surrendered lands (Sec. 53-60).
10. Management of Indian monies (Sec. 61-69).
11. Loans to Indians (Sec. 70).
12. Farms on reserves (Sec. 71).
13. Treaty money (Sec. 72).
14. Regulations which may be imposed (Sec. 73).
15. Election of chiefs and band councils (Sec. 74-80).
16. Powers of band councils (Sec. 81-86).
17. Taxation and legal rights (Sec. 87-90).
18. Trading with Indians (Sec. 91-92).
19. Removal of materials from reserves and sale of intoxicants (Sec. 93-102).
20. Forfeitures and penalties (Sec. 103-108).
21. Enfranchisement of Indians and bands (Sec. 109-113).
22. Schools (Sec. 114-123).
23. Prior grants (Sec. 124).

1. *Registered Treaty On and Off Reserve Indian*--This group is considered to consist of the natives whose ancestors made agreements (or "treaties") with the Crown. These Indians surrendered their land in return for a reserve, a small annuity and an initial cost outlay. They are considered to be under the regulations as specified by the BNA Act of 1867 and later, the Indian Act of 1951. The original Indian Act has continually been changed by the federal government since its conception. "Indian" means a person who, pursuant to this act, is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian. Of the just over 250,000 registered Indians in Canada in 1971, about half were in this category. Of these, about 70 per cent live on the reserve. The remainder live in large metropolitan areas throughout Canada although a small percentage live in smaller communities across the country. To maintain their "treaty" or registered status, they must live on the reserve, maintain a residence on the reserve, and/or return to live on the reserve for a specified period every three years. If they fail to do this, they can lose their "treaty" or "registered" status and thus be struck from the roll.

2. *Registered Non-Treaty Indians*—Indians in Quebec, the Maritimes, parts of the NWT and in most of BC did not carry on negotiations with the federal government and therefore are not considered "treaty" Indians, although in some cases they were given crown land. The Iroquois of Brantford and Tyendingaga and certain other groups who migrated from the US are also in this group, considered to be "registered" Indians.

Like those in group 1, they are defined as Indians in the legal sense of the word. The important point here is that a person can be a "registered" (legal) Indian and subject to all the provisions of the Indian Act, even though his band or tribe has not signed a treaty with the government. It also shows that residence on a reserve is not necessary to maintain this status because in many cases Indians (regardless of whether they signed a treaty) were not given land in return.

3. *Non-Registered Indian*—People in this group may exhibit all the cultural and/or racial attributes of "Indianness," but they are not defined as Indians in the legal sense. Although they are not considered "registered" Indians (because they refused—or were not allowed—to make agreements with the Crown) they share most of the social and physical characteristics of treaty Indians. Included in this category are those Indians who have undergone "enfranchisement." They may have lost their Indian status in several ways. For example, until 1960 an Indian had to give up his legal status if he wanted to vote in a federal election. Today an Indian can apply for enfranchisement if he wants to renounce his Indian status. An Indian may choose to give up his Indian status by applying formally to Ottawa. If he does so, all heirs are excluded from being Indian. He also forfeits all rights and obligations of an Indian. Since 1955 about 700 Indians per year have been enfranchised (see Table 1). Even today, an Indian woman and her children will lose their Indian status if she marries a non-Indian. In 1970, 652 were enfranchised. Of these, 615 resulted from marriages of Indian women to non-Indian men.

4. *Metis*—Members of this group are defined as having "mixed" ancestry. Initially the title meant a half "mixture" of French and Indian, although it has now been broadened to include almost all people with at least some Indian ancestry. These people, as well as those in group 3, are not subject to the regulations of the Indian Act.

Metis have historically been defined and treated as a legal entity. The federal government, between 1870 and 1875, recognized the treaty and aboriginal rights of Metis. Metis were given land, scrip (valued between $160 and $240 or 240 acres of land) and medical and educational subsidies, just as the "status" Indians now receive. They also could choose to "take treaty" and become registered Indians. In addition, crown lands were given to the provinces to set up colonies for them. But in 1940, the Indian Affairs Branch (IAB) changed its position and refused to acknowledge the existence of the Metis as a legal entity. At present they are re-emerging as an ethnic group, with only informal—not legal—recognition by the federal government.

Excerpted without modification from: Frideres, 1974:2-3

Appendix C

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS

Indian Bands

in the Three Prairie Provinces.

Excerpted without modification from: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Linguistic and Cultural Affiliations of Canadian Indian Bands. 1970.

Alberta

LEGEND
MAJOR LINGUISTIC GROUPS

TRADITIONAL
These tints show groups at time of first contact with Europeans.

ALGONKIAN
ATHAPASKAN
HAIDA
IROQUOIAN
KOOTENAYAN
SALISHAN
SIOUAN
TLINGIT
TSIMSHIAN
WAKASHAN

CONTEMPORARY
Location and population

● 0 to 99 ■ 100 to 399 ▲ 400 to 699 ✝ 700 to 1999 ⧗ over 2000

MAJOR LINGUISTIC GROUPS AND RELATED LANGUAGES

ALGONKIAN
Ab - Abenakis
Al - Algonkin
Bl - Blackfoot
Cr - Cree
Del - Delaware
Mal - Malecite
Mic - Micmac
Mo - Montagnais
Nas - Naskapi
Oj - Ojibway
Ott - Ottawa
Pot - Potawatomi
Ac - Acadia
Sou - Soulteaux

ATHAPASKAN
Be - Beaver
Ca - Carrier
Chi - Chilcotin
Ch - Chipewyan
Dr - Dogrib
Hr - Hare
Kut - Kutchin
Lo - Loucheux
No - Nahani
Sa - Sarcee
Sek - Sekani
Sl - Slave
Ta - Tahltan
Ye - Yellowknife

HAIDA
Ha - Haida

IROQUOIAN
Ir - Iroquois
Hu - Huron

KOOTENAYAN
Ko - Kootenay

SALISHAN
Bc - Bella Coola
Cos - Comox
Ce - Cowichan
Li - Lillooet
Nt - Nitskyapamuk
Ok - Okanagon
Pu - Puntlatch
See - Seechelt
Se - Semiahmoo
Sh - Shuswap
So - Songish
Sq - Squamish

SIOUAN
Ass - Assiniboine
Si - Sioux

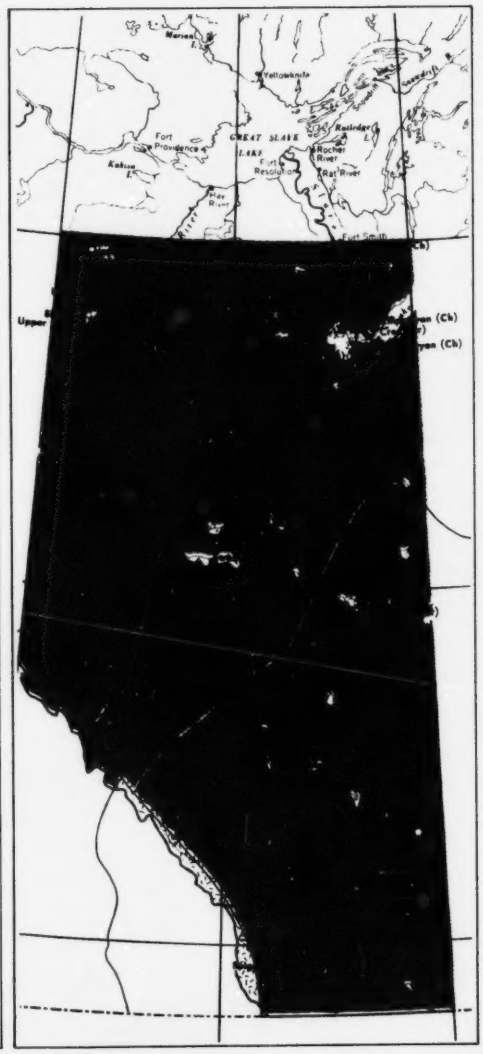
TLINGIT
Tag - Tagish

TSIMSHIAN
Gi - Gitksan
Nis - Nisha
Ts - Tsimshian

WAKASHAN
Nai - Naisla
He - Heiltsuk
Kw - Kwakiutl
Noo - Nootka

NOTE: Migrations which have occurred since time of initial contact have resulted in bands of different linguistic affiliations settling in regions traditionally occupied by others.

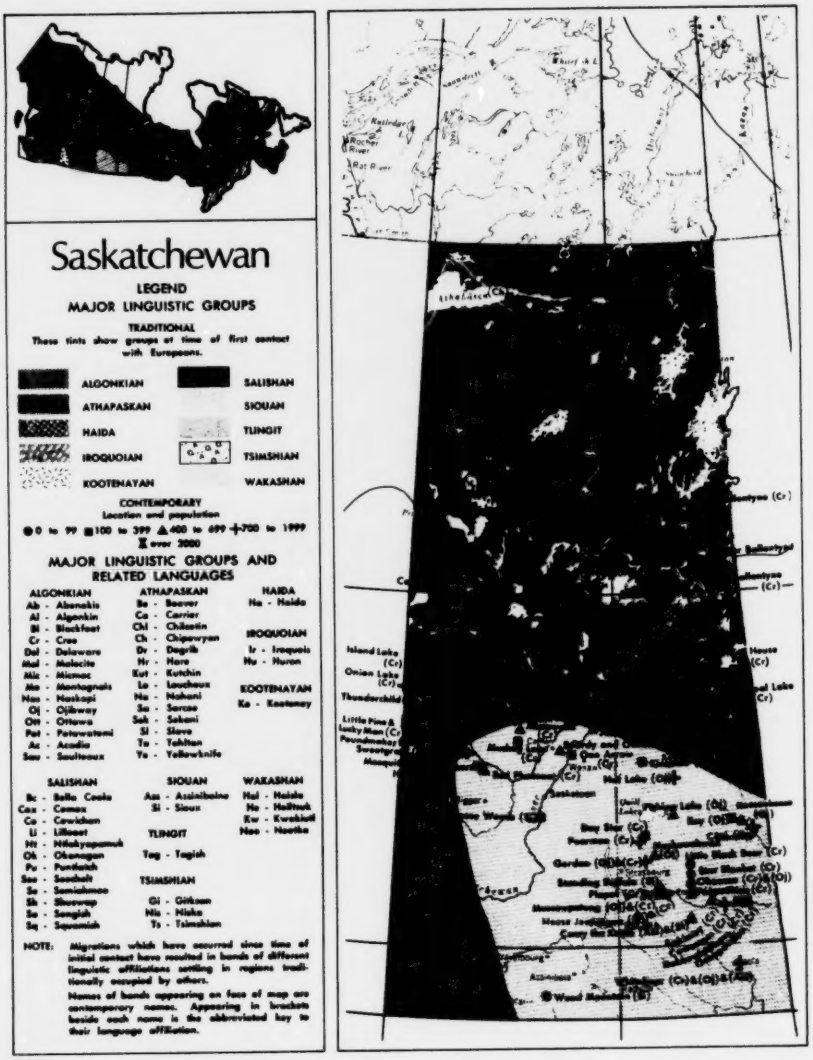
Names of bands appearing on face of map are contemporary names. Appearing in brackets beside each name is the abbreviated key to their language affiliation.



Alberta

Band	Population	Linguistic Group	Language or Dialect	Culture Area
Alexander	496	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Alexis	490	Siouan	Dakota[1]	Plains
Beaver Lake	199	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Beaver of Horse Lakes and Clear Hills	106	Athapaskan	Beaver	Mackenzie R.
Blackfoot	2,355	Algonkian	Blackfoot	Plains
Blood	4,262	Algonkian	Blackfoot	Plains
Boyer River	265	Athapaskan	Beaver	Mackenzie R.
Cold Lake	841	Athapaskan and Algonkian	Chipewyan and Cree	Plains
Cree	726	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Driftpile	492	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Duncan's	44	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Enoch	470	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Ermineskin	1,004	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Fort Chipewyan (Chipewyan	242	Athapaskan	Chipewyan	Mackenzie R.
Fort McKay	173	Athapaskan	Chipewyan	Mackenzie R.
Fort McMurray	91	Algonkian and Athapaskan	Cree and Chipewyan	Algonkian Mackenzie R.
Fort Vermilion (Tallcree)	202	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Frog Lake	583	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Grouard	48	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Heart Lake	70	Athapaskan	Beaver	Plains
Janvier	178	Athapaskan	Chipewyan	Mackenzie R.
Kehewin	473	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Little Red River	865	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Louis Bull	436	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Lubican Lake	52	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Montana	250	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
O'Chiese	310	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Paul	575	Siouan and Algonkian	Dakota[1] and Cree	Plains
Peigan	1,413	Algonkian	Blackfoot	Algonkian
Saddle Lake	2,459	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Samson	1,797	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Sarcee	467	Athapaskan	Sarcee	Plains
Sawridge	39	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Slaves of Upper Hay River	1,011	Athapaskan	Slave	Mackenzie R.
Stony (Bearspaw) Stony (Chiniquay Stony (Wesley)	1,610	Siouan	Dakota[1]	Plains
Sturgeon Lake	621	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Sucker Creek	457	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Sunchild Cree	288	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Swan River	137	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Wabasca (Bigstone)	1,291	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Whitefish Lake	445	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian

1 Assiniboine dialect — The Assiniboine commonly referred to in Alberta as "Stony".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Cr - Cree
Del - Delaware
Mal - Malecite
Mic - Micmac
Mo - Montagnais
Nas - Naskapi
Oj - Ojibway
Ott - Ottawa
Pot - Potawatomi
Ac - Acadia
Sau - Sauteaux
ATHAPASKAN
Be - Beaver
Ca - Carrier
Chl - Chilcotin
Ch - Chipewyan
Dr - Dogrib
Hr - Hare
Kut - Kutchin
Lo - Loucheux
Na - Nahani
Se - Sarcee
Sah - Sekani
Sl - Slave
Ta - Tahltan
Ye - Yellowknife
HAIDA
Ha - Haida
IROQUOIAN
Ir - Iroquois
Hu - Huron
KOOTENAYAN
Ko - Kootenay
SALISHAN
Bc - Bella Coola
Cos - Comox
Co - Cowichan
Li - Lillooet
Ht - Nitakyapamuk
Ok - Okanagan
Pe - Pentlatch
Sau - Saanich
Se - Semiahmoo
Sh - Shuswap
Sa - Songish
Sq - Squamish
SIOUAN
Ass - Assiniboine
Si - Sioux
TLINGIT
Tag - Tagish
TSIMSHIAN
Gi - Gitksan
Nis - Niska
Ts - Tsimshian
WAKASHAN
Nai - Haisla
Ns - Heiltsuk
Kw - Kwakiutl
Noo - Nootka
NOTE: Migrations which have occurred since time of initial contact have resulted in bands of different linguistic affiliations settling in regions traditionally occupied by others.
Names of bands appearing on face of map are contemporary names. Appearing in brackets beside each name is the abbreviated key to their language affiliation.

Saskatchewan

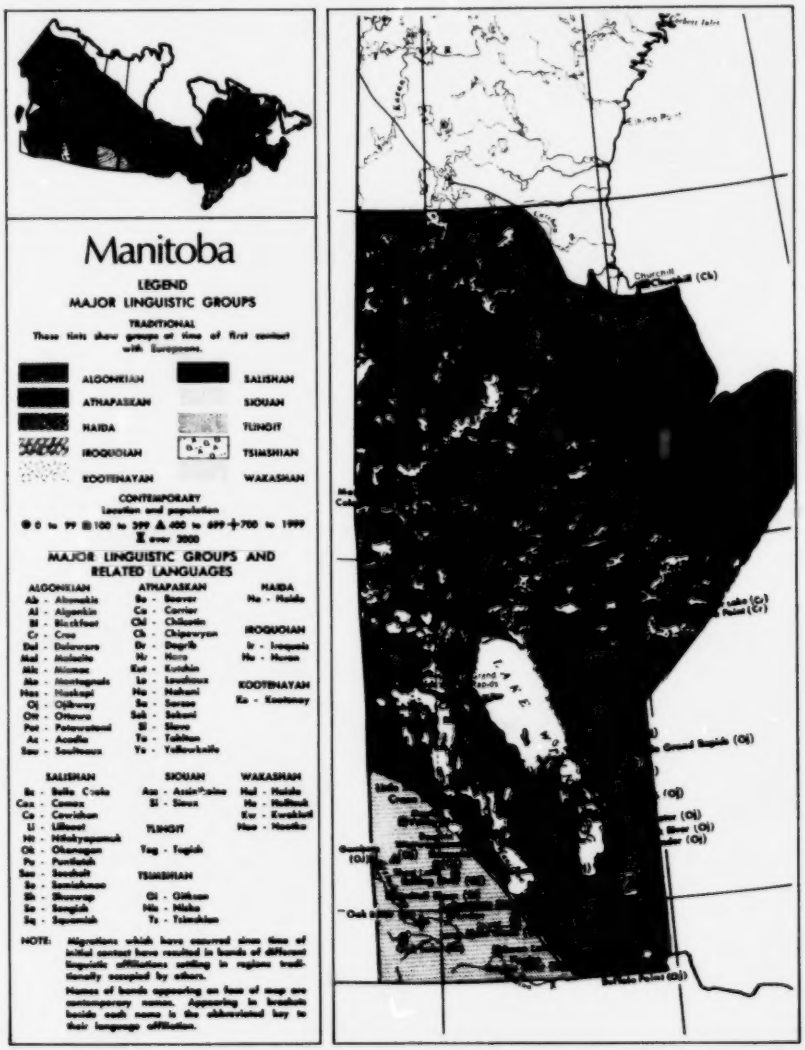
Band	Population	Linguistic Group	Language or Dialect	Culture Area
Beardy's and Okemasis	824	Algonkian	Cree	Plains[1]
Big River	784	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Canoe Lake	346	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Carry the Kettle	734	Siouan	Assiniboine and Dakota	Plains
Côté	1,124	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
Cowessess	1,024	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Cumberland House	202	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Day Star	211	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
English River	374	Athapaskan	Chipewyan	Mackenzie R.
Fishing Lake	487	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
Fond du Lac	552	Athapaskan	Chipewyan	Mackenzie R.
Gordon	879	Algonkian	Ojibway and Cree	Plains
Island Lake	312	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
James Smith	991	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
John Smith	412	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Joseph Bighead	248	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Kahewistahaw	478	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Keeseekoose	661	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
Key	340	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
Kinistino	292	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
Lac la Hache	232	Athapaskan	Chipewyan	Mackenzie R.
Lac la Ronge	2,009	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Little Black Bear	157	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Little Pine	562	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Loon Lake	382	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Lucky Man	38	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Maple Creek	122	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Meadow Lake	246	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Mistawasis	637	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Montreal Lake	936	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Moose Woods	148	Siouan	Sioux	Plains
Moosomin	458	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Mosquito-Grizzly Bear's Head	387	Siouan	Assiniboine	Plains
Muscowekwan	485	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
Muskeg Lake	472	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Muscowpetung	414	Algonkian	Ojibway and Cree	Plains

[1] Those bands in Saskatchewan and Alberta living near the edge of the Prairies adopted many of the traits of the Plains culture and are, therefore, listed as Plains Indians.

Saskatchewan

Band	Population	Linguistic Group	Language or Dialect	Culture Area
Nut Lake	822	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
Ochapowace	432	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Okanese	157	Algonkian	Cree and Ojibway	Plains
One Arrow	410	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Onion Lake	1,138	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Pasqua	512	Algonkian	Ojibway and Cree	Plains
Pelican Lake	290	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Peepeekisis	738	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Peter Ballantyne	1,537	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Peter Pond Lake	448	Athapaskan	Chipewyan	Mackenzie R.
Piapot	624	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Poorman	775	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Portage la Loche	249	Athapaskan	Chipewyan	Mackenzie R.
Poundmaker	469	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Red Earth	392	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Red Pheasant	535	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Sakimay	498	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Sandy Lake	891	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Saulteaux	340	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
Shoal Lake	193	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Sioux Wahpaton	84	Siouan	Dakota	Plains
Standing Buffalo	514	Siouan	Dakota	Plains
Star Blanket	151	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Stony Rapids	477	Athapaskan	Chipewyan	Mackenzie R.
Sturgeon Lake	687	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Sweet Grass	509	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Thunderchild	696	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Waterhen Lake	487	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Whitebear	916	Algonkian and Siouan	Cree, Ojibway and Assiniboine	Plains
Witchekan Lake	147	Algonkian	Cree	Plains
Wood Mountain	70	Siouan	Dakota	Plains

Appendix C.6


Manitoba
LEGEND
MAJOR LINGUISTIC GROUPS
TRADITIONAL
ALGONKIAN
ATHAPASKAN
HAIDA
IROQUOIAN
KOOTENAYAN
SALISHAN
SIOUAN
TLINGIT
TSIMSHIAN
WAKASHAN
CONTEMPORARY
Location and population
MAJOR LINGUISTIC GROUPS AND RELATED LANGUAGES
ALGONKIAN
Ab - Abenakis
Al - Algonkin
Bl - Blackfoot
Cr - Cree
Del - Delaware
Mal - Malecite
Mic - Micmac
Mo - Montagnais
Nas - Naskapi
Oj - Ojibway
Ott - Ottawa
Pot - Potawatomi
Ar - Arapho
Sou - Southern
ATHAPASKAN
Be - Beaver
Ca - Carrier
Chl - Chilcotin
Ch - Chipewyan
Dr - Dogrib
Hr - Hare
Kut - Kutchin
Lo - Loucheux
Ma - Mahari
Sa - Sarsee
Sek - Sekani
Sl - Slave
Ta - Tahltan
Ye - Yellowknife
HAIDA
Ha - Haida
IROQUOIAN
Ir - Iroquois
Hu - Huron
KOOTENAYAN
Ka - Kootenay
SALISHAN
Be - Bella Coola
Cow - Cowan
Co - Cowichan
Li - Lillooet
Mi - Mikahyuamuch
Ok - Okanagan
Pu - Puntlatch
Sec - Sechelt
Se - Semiahmoo
Sh - Shuswap
St - Straits
Sq - Squamish
SIOUAN
Ass - Assiniboine
Si - Sioux
TLINGIT
Teq - Tagish
TSIMSHIAN
Gi - Gitksan
Nis - Nisha
Ts - Tsimshian
WAKASHAN
Nad - Nootka
Nu - Nuthnuk
Kw - Kwakiutl
Noo - Nootka
NOTE:
Migrations which have occurred since time of initial contact have resulted in bands of different linguistic affiliations settling in regions traditionally occupied by others.
Names of bands appearing on face of map are contemporary names. Appearing in brackets beside each name is the abbreviated key to their language affiliation.

Manitoba

Band	Population	Linguistic Group	Language or Dialect	Culture Area
Barren Lands	505	Athapaskan	Chipewyan	Mackenzie R.
Berens River	719	Algonkian	Ojibway[1]	Algonkian
Birdtail Sioux	187	Siouan	Dakota[2]	Plains
Bloodvein	339	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Brokenhead	434	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Buffalo Point	25	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Chemahawin	337	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Churchill	346	Athapaskan	Chipewyan	Mackenzie R.
Crane River	154	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Cross Lake	1,634	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Ebb and Flow	468	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Fairford	720	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Fisher River	1,065	Algonkian	Ojibway and Cree	Algonkian
Fort Alexander	2,023	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Fox Lake	197	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Gamblers	28	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
Garden Hill	1,265	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
God's Lake	1,041	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Grand Rapids	273	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Hollow Water	358	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Jackhead	256	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Keeseekowenin	302	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
Lake Manitoba	479	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Lake St. Martin	581	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Little Black River	194	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Little Grand Rapids	733	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Little Saskatchewan	323	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Long Plain	775	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
Long Plain Sioux	224	Siouan	Dakota	Plains
Mathias Colomb	908	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Moose Lake	264	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Nelson House	1,448	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Norway House	1,934	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Oak Lake	272	Siouan	Dakota	Plains
Oak River Sioux	899	Siouan	Dakota	Plains
Oxford House	810	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian

Manitoba

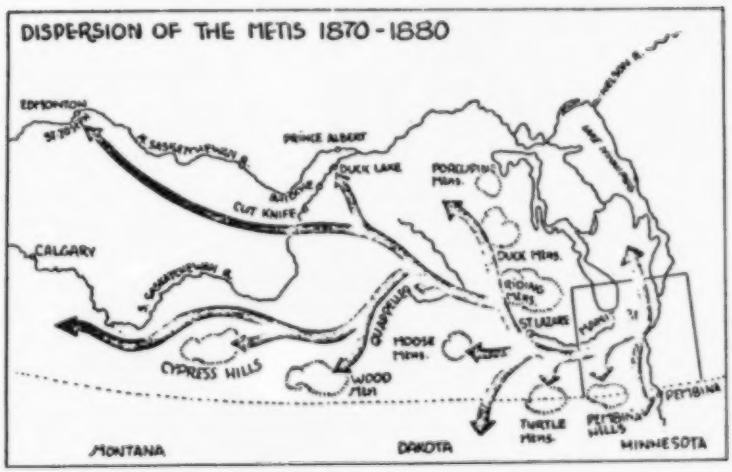
Band	Population	Linguistic Group	Language or Dialect	Culture Area
Peguis	2,060	Algonkian	Ojibway and Cree	Algonkian
Pine Creek	549	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Poplar River	392	Algonkian	Cree and Ojibway	Algonkian
Red Sucker Lake	235	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Rolling River	309	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
Roseau River	725	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
St. Theresa Point	913	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Sandy Bay	1,348	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Shammatawa	430	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Shoal River	502	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Split Lake	866	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Swan Lake	454	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
The Pas	999	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Valley River	369	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Wanagamack	381	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian
Waterhen	295	Algonkian	Ojibway	Algonkian
Waywayseecappo	706	Algonkian	Ojibway	Plains
York Factory	351	Algonkian	Cree	Algonkian

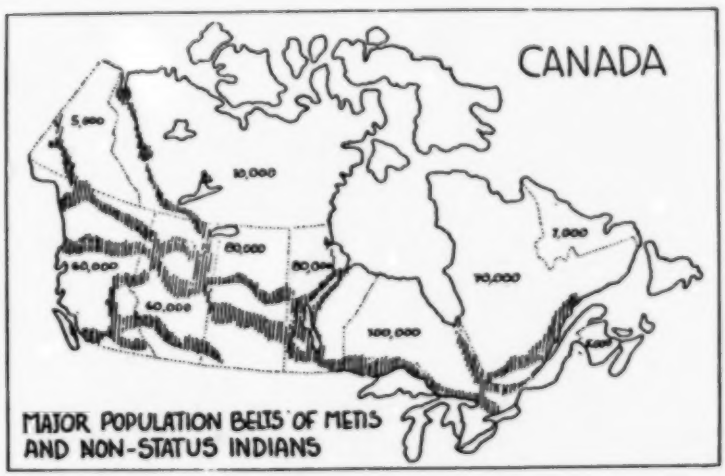
[1] The Ojibway Indians in Manitoba and the other western provinces are also known as "Saulteaux". Some Ojibway Bands migrated as far west as the Peace River country in British Columbia seeking new sources of beaver for the fur trade. Others settled on the Prairies adopting the plains culture.

[2] The designation "Sioux" is a loose term for the languages or dialects spoken today by the descendants of Siouan refugees who entered Canada following the Minnesota (1862) and Custer (1876) massacres in the United States.

Appendix D

Metis Population Dispersion in Canada





Source: Sealy and Lussier, 1975

STATEMENT OF THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

In Indian tradition each adult is personally responsible for each child, to see that he learns all he needs to know in order to live a good life. As our fathers had a clear idea of what made a good man and a good life in their society, so we modern Indians, want our children to learn that happiness and satisfaction come from:

- pride in one's self,
- understanding one's fellowmen, and,
- living in harmony with nature.

These are lessons which are necessary for survival in this twentieth century.

- Pride encourages us to recognize and use our talents, as well as to master the skills needed to make a living.
- Understanding our fellowmen will enable us to meet other Canadians on an equal footing, respecting cultural differences while pooling resources for the common good.
- Living in harmony with nature will insure preservation of the balance between man and his environment which is necessary for the future of our planet, as well as for fostering the climate in which Indian Wisdom has always flourished.

We want education to give our children the knowledge to understand and be proud of themselves and the knowledge to understand the world around them.

Excerpted without modification from: National Indian Brotherhood. "Indian Control of Indian Education." 1972

STATEMENT OF VALUES

We want education to provide the setting in which our children can develop the fundamental attitudes and values which have an honoured place in Indian tradition and culture. The values which we want to pass on to our children, values which make our people a great race, are not written in any book. They are found in our history, in our legends and in the culture. We believe that if an Indian child is fully aware of the important Indian values he will have reason to be proud of our race and of himself as an Indian.

We want the behaviour of our children to be shaped by those values which are most esteemed in our culture. When our children come to school they have already developed certain attitudes and habits which are based on experiences in the family. School programs which are influenced by these values respect cultural priority and are an extension of the education which parents give children from their first years. These early lessons emphasize attitudes of:

..... self-reliance,
..... respect for personal freedom,
..... generosity,
..... respect for nature,
..... wisdom.

All of these have a special place in the Indian way of life. While these values can be understood and interpreted in different ways by different cultures, it is very important that Indian children have a chance to develop a value system which is compatible with Indian culture.

The gap between our people and those who have chosen, often gladly, to join us as residents of this beautiful and bountiful country, is vast when it comes to mutual understanding and appreciation of differences. To overcome this, it is essential that Canadian children of every racial origin have the opportunity during their school days to learn about the history, customs and culture of this country's original inhabitants and first citizens. We propose that education authorities, especially those in provincial Departments of Education, should provide for this in the curricula and texts which are chosen for use in Canadian schools.

The Fine Option Program

What is the Fine Option Program?

Saskatchewan's Fine Option Program, administered through the Corrections Branch of the Department of Social Services, offers an alternative for those who would otherwise be forced to go to jail because they are unable to pay their fines. Instead of a jail sentence, the program provides the opportunity to voluntarily work fines out through community projects.

ᖃᒃᑲᓇᖅ ᑲᑎᒪᓂᖅ ᐊᓯᖏᓐᓄᑦ

ᐅᑕᖅ ᑭᓯᐊᓂᖅ ᐅᑭ ᑭᓴ ᐅᔨᐊᓕᕆᔨᒃ ᑲᑎᒪᓂᖅ

ᐊᓂᒃᓴᓂᖅ ᐊᓯᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐊᓯᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐅᑲᒃ ᑭᐱᐅᑦ ᐊᐃᒃᓴᑦ ᒪ

ᓄᓇᕗᑦ ᐅᑯᓯ ᑎᑭᐃᓐᓇᐅᑉ ᒥᓇ ᓇᒍ ᓴ ᑭᑎᑭᐃᓐᓇᐅᑉ ᒥᐊᓂ-

ᑭᑦ ᑭᐊᑐᐊᓐᓂᐅ ᐃᑦ ᐅᒪᒪᐅᑎᓇᓕᕆᑲᒃᑌᓕᓴᑦ ᐊᓯᖏᓐᓄᑦ

Who is the Program open to?

The Fine Option Program is open to all persons who have been convicted of offences where a fine is imposed, time to pay is allowed, and the penalty for default is a jail sentence. Persons who have already paid a portion of a fine may also take advantage of the program. Participation is voluntary.

When the court imposes a fine and time to pay is allowed, the court will issue to the offender a Notice of Fine. To participate in the Fine Option Program the offender must present the Notice of Fine to a Fine Option Agency prior to date of default shown on the Notice of Fine.

Information on location of Fine Option Agencies is available from the courts, RCMP, court workers and the legal assistance offices or call collect to 565-3333.

ᐊᐃᓂᓇ ᒪᑲ ᑲᐸᑭᑌᒪᒻᒪᓂᖅ ᑎᒪ

ᐅᐊᓂᓕ ᐊᓯᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐸᑭᑭᑌᒪᒻᒪᓂᐊᓂᖅ ᑕᖏᑐ ᐊᓂᑭ ᑲ

ᑭ ᒪᒪᓂᔪᖏᓐᓇᑦ ᑎᓇ ᑲᐅᑎᕕᑎᑦ ᒪᑲ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᖏᓐᓇᑦ ᐃᑭᐱ-

ᑭᑦ ᑭᐸᐃᑲᓯᓐᓇᑦ ᐅᑲᓂᓕᓂᑦ ᑎᓇ ᐊᓂᑭ ᑲᑲᑭᑎᑦ ᐸᖏᑭ

ᑭᑦ ᑎᑭᐃᓐᓇᑦ ᒪᑲ ᓇᒪᐃᓂᔪᖏᓐᓇᑦ ᐅᒪᒪᐅᑎᓇᓕᕆᔨᒃ ᑎᓇ

ᐊᓯᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐅᑲᓂ ᑭᐱᐃᓂᔪᖏᓐᓇᑦ ᐃᓂᔪᓯᐊᓂᕐᑐ ᑎᓇ

ᑎᑭᐃᓐᓇᐅᑉ ᒪᑲ ᐸᑎᓕᒪᐊᓂᕐᑐ ᐊᑎᒪ ᑭᑦ ᑭᓯᑎᐃᓐᓇᐅᑉ ᐅᐊᓂ

ᑯ ᒥᔪᐅ ᒪᓯᓇᐃᑲᓴ ᐅᑯᓯ ᑭᐱᐃᓐᓇᐅᑉ ᐃᓂᔪᑎᓇᓵᑦ ᒪᒻᒪᓂ ᐃ

ᓯᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐅᐊᓂᑯ ᓇᒪᐃᓂᔪᖏᓐᓇᑦ ᑭᑦ ᐃᑐᑦᑕᐅᐅ ᓇᔭᐢ ᐅᑎᒥ

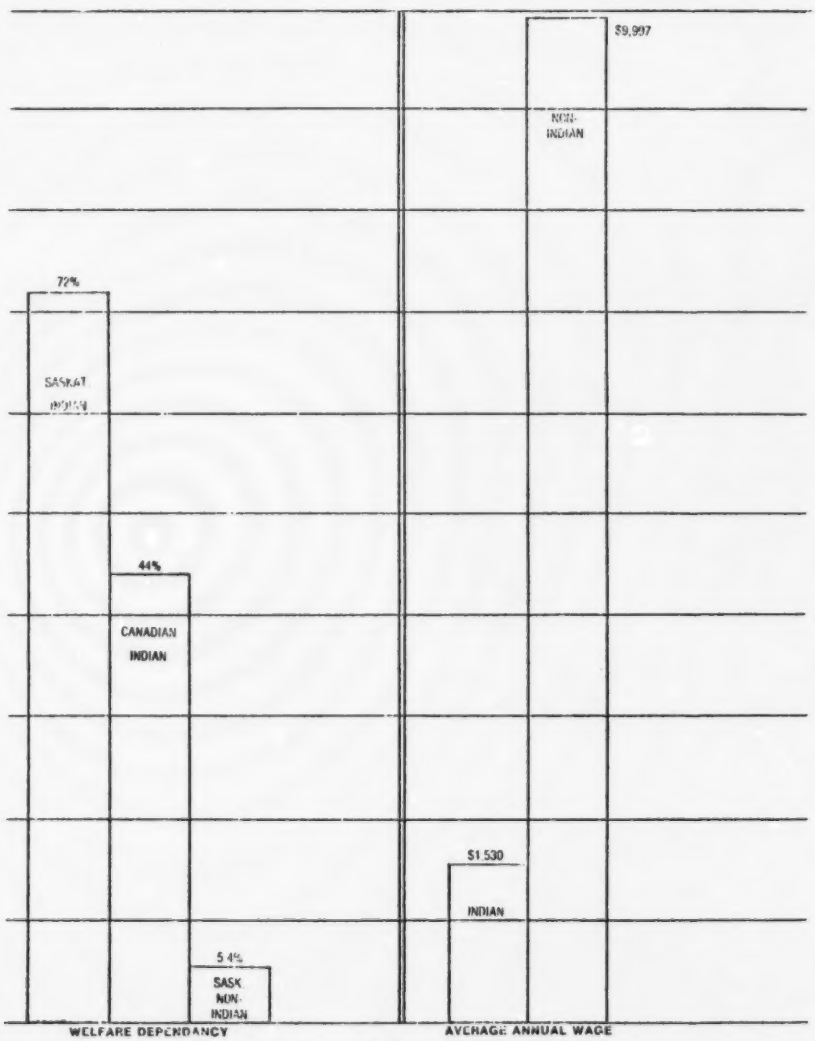
ᐊᔪᓂᔨᑦ ᑭᑦ ᑎᑭᐃᓐᓇᐅᑉ ᐅᑯᓯ ᑎᓇ ᑭᑦ ᐃᓂᑕᐊᓂᐅᐅ ᐊᓂᓂ

ᑲᑎᒪᓂᐃᓐᓇᐅᑉ ᑕᓂᑕ ᑭᑦ ᐃᑐᑌᓯᐅᓂᓂ ᐃᓂᔪᓯᐅᓂᓂ ᐊᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᔪ

ᓇᑲᓂᔪ ᐊᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᑯᑕᑲ ᐅᑕᑐᓐᓇᐊᓂ ᑭᑦᐃᓂᒪᓂᔨᑦ ᐊᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᑎᓇ

Appendix G

Welfare Dependency and Average Wage



Source: Economic Statistics (1971), Saskatchewan

FOOTNOTES

1. As this paper is restricted to the prairie provinces, the discussion focuses on the descendants of Indians, not Inuit.

2. Just during the 1960-65 period, infant mortality among Indians in Canada fell from 82 to 62 deaths per 1000 live births (Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Annual Report, 1970-71.)

3. Caution: These are conservative estimates as not all native people appear in the census category "Native Indian": many are considered only transitory and temporary and so are not counted as residents, and Metis are frequently counted as "white."

4. Walsh (1971) and Frideres (1974) note that there are numerous cases of return migration after experiencing failure in urban adjustment.

5. Opportunities to use this alternative are growing in most major prairie cities, with the rapid development of both Indian and Metis-run drop-in centers, family counselling units, streetworker programs, housing placement programs, educational upgrading facilities, manpower counselling and so on. Whether these general "native-for-native" programs are stop-gap measures which will eventually lead to assimilation, or the systematic evolution of permanent native institutions, only time will tell.

6. The only exceptions might be in South-Western Alberta, and South-Western Manitoba, where there are some reserves which are either or both financially and administratively very successful.

7. Whites expect to be conned by Indians; storekeepers extend credit knowing that accounts will never be settled. An Indian persuades a white to transport him and his family home in sub-zero weather for an agreed-upon price. Upon arrival, the money is not available. A native calls at the home of an absent white man, persuading his wife to pay him for some work he did (which he did not do). Whites do not seriously complain, and when they do, they know the R.C.M.P. will not be able to follow through. Indian irresponsibility, childishness, and *differentness* is demonstrated and thereby confirmed!

8. Unless they are wearing braids, leather, beads, and mocassins, or are in a multicultural performance!

9. Clearly this publisher knows a market when it sees one.

10. Approximately 85 documents went into and came out of the conference. Although the conference received wide publicity at the time, the

written documents did not appear in a form that could be usefully consumed by the public. A small colorful government "public relations" summary appeared. But all relevant provincial government departments possess copies, and they are also obtainable through the Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat.

11. In this case, the relevant meaning system would include the various native perceptions and understanding of law, justice, social control, discipline, authority, deviance, etc.

12. "Spoiled" implies loss of self-esteem, ego integration, and sense of control.

13. Reasons's interest in work on racism in corrections in the U.S. has been continued in his work on the native inmate population in Canada.

14. The degree to which this actually exists in Canada is unknown.

15. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has done little on the topic of justice. One unpublished article by Karamessines (1976) on "The Potential Sources of Assistance for Native Peoples in the Area of Criminal Justice" might be of some interest.

16. The Communication Division of the Solicitor-General publishes monthly, LIASON, a bilingual newsletter about happenings in the criminal justice system, and several summary articles have appeared on the Indian Constable Program, on Native Counselling Services in Alberta, on the role of Native Brotherhoods in the penitentiaries, and so on. This, however, is "public relations" news, and not a detailed description of actual studies done.

17. For example, the Regina Native Women's Center has or is developing a group home for teenage girls, a temporary shelter for women and children experiencing crises, a streetworkers project, counselling and job and housing referral services, daycare, tutoring, and drug counselling referral programs.

18. One example of this is the "Regina Race Relations Project," centered in the Regina Community Education Center, but involving, besides natives, police, social workers and the general public. Another is the "Community Liason Committee" under the auspices of the City Council of Saskatoon, trying to prevent problems before they grow to unwieldy proportions.

19. The center has a library, an extensive bibliographical collection, and a full-time Research Director.

20. Everyone knows there are three kinds of liars — the plain liar, the big liar, and the statistician. No more need be said.

SELECTED

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